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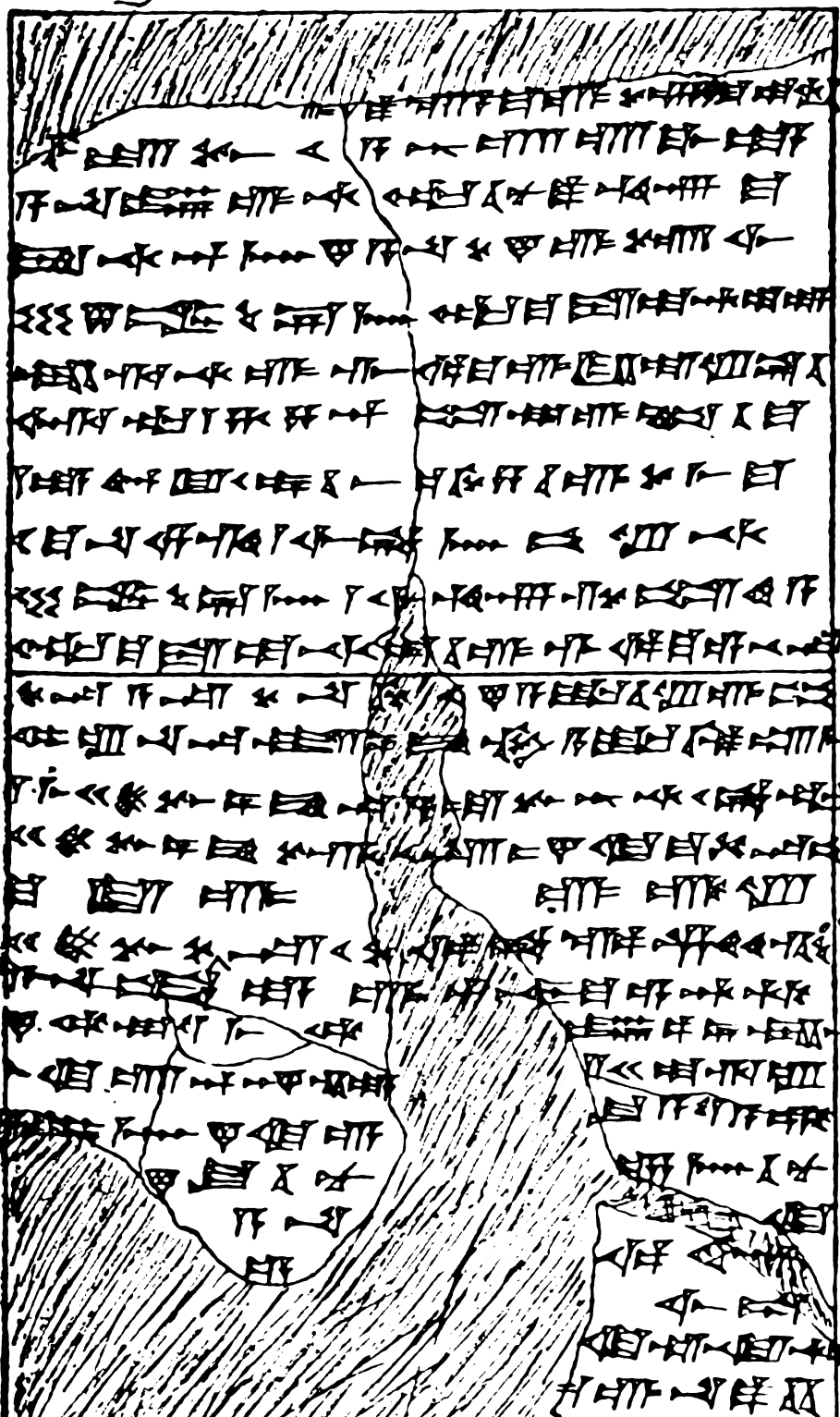
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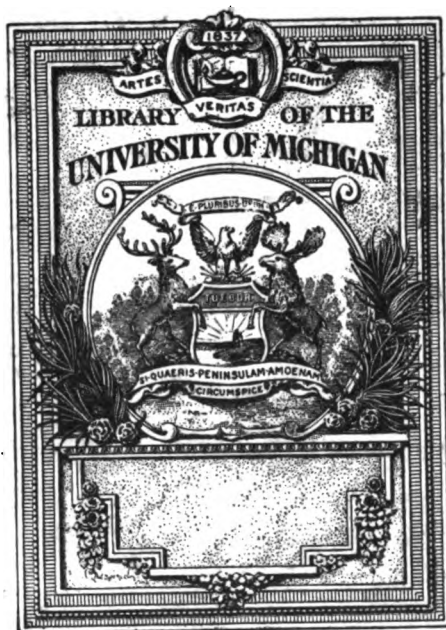
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## ❖ HEBREW. ❖

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VOL. IV.

OCTOBER, 1887.

No. I.

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### BALAAM'S PROPHECY (NUMBERS XXIV. 17-24) AND THE GOD SHETH.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, M. A.,

Oxford University, England.

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I must begin by apologizing for adding another commentary to the many which have already appeared on the Prophecy of Balaam in Num. xxiv. 17-24; but I believe I have some new conjectures and facts to bring forward which may possibly prove of interest. That the prophecy is a cento has long since been recognized. It does not present an unbroken thread of connection, and the interruptions in verses 20, 21 and 23 suggest either that successive prophecies have been attached one by one to the original prophecy in verses 17-19, or else that the passages they introduce have been taken from other documents of various age and ancestry. An examination of the original prophecy makes the latter view the more probable.

In the first place the prophecy begins with a pronoun which has no antecedent, "I shall see *him*," "I shall behold *him*," says Balaam (verse 16), but we have no indication as to who it is that is meant by the *him*. It cannot be Israel, since Balaam was seeing Israel ranged close below him at the time; it cannot refer to "the *star*," since the latter is mentioned subsequently. The passage has obviously been taken from elsewhere, with the omission of its commencement (like Isa. ii. 2). That the latter part of the verse also has been borrowed from another source is clear from a comparison with Num. xxi. 28; Jer. XLVIII. 45, and Amos ii. 2, on which I shall have more to say presently. Verse 19 must also be derived from some other context. Though united by the conjunction with the preceding verse, the nominative cannot be "Israel," as this would make no sense, and we must therefore construe the verb with the impersonal "one." But the expression, "And let one rule out of Jacob" has no apparent connection with the statement immediately preceding, "Israel is doing valiantly;" while the prep-



osition מ leads us to believe that the punctuation ought to be ירד "one shall descend from Jacob" rather than ירד from ירד. This at all events was the reading of the Septuagint translators.<sup>1</sup> The עיר at the end of the verse cannot be right. No "city" has been referred to, only the land of Edom and Seir,—an additional proof that the verse did not originally belong to the place which it now occupies. A comparison with Num. xxi. 28 seems to indicate that the reading ought to be ער, and that the verse primarily followed immediately upon verse 17, verse 18 being an interpolation. Possibly the cause of the change of ער into עיר is to be found in Ps. LX. 9.

When we turn to the concluding verses of the prophecy (20-24), the first point which strikes us is that, whereas the original prophecy appears to refer to the conquest of Moab and Edom by David, the "parable" upon Amalek finds its fulfillment in the destruction of the Amalekites by Saul (cf. 1 Chron. iv. 43), while verses 22 and 24 transport us to the period of the Assyrian campaigns. The second point is the interpolation of verse 23, which not only interrupts the context, but is introduced by the imperfect formula "he took up his parable and said," instead of the complete, "he looked on Aššûr," etc. The paronomasia in verses 20, 21, will also be noted, inasmuch as no trace of it appears in the preceding verses.

Geiger has ingeniously suggested that in verse 22 we should disregard the Massoretic punctuation, and simply render "Who shall survive Samuel?" In this case, the words would be out of their true place which would be immediately after verse 20. Against this is the fact that the prophecy in verse 24 terminates with the same words as does verse 20.

The imperfect condition of the introductory formula in verse 23 is shown by the Septuagint to be due to a corruption of the text. The Septuagint has *Kai idōn tōn 'Ag,* a reading which naturally suggests the name of Agag. It cannot have originated in the אג below (which is translated אג), but is the best evidence yet adduced in support of Geiger's conjecture. It must be remembered that Agag is mentioned in the Massoretic text of xxiv. 7.

We should then have the following as the original text of verses 20-23:—  
 "And when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable and said: Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish forever. And when he looked on Agag, he took up his parable and said: Alas, who shall survive Samuel? And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable and said: Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in Sela. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted until Aššûr shall carry thee away captive."

There would now remain only the enigmatical verse 24. That the Massoretic text is corrupt is obvious from the impossibility of construing it, and the reading

<sup>1</sup> So also the Samaritan and Syriac versions and Onkelos. Gaab, Vater, Knobel, etc., endeavor to escape from the grammatical difficulty by proposing to read עקב ירד or ירד.

of the Septuagint *kai ἐξελθούσας* indicates that we should read **וַיֵּצְאוּ** or **וַיֵּצְאוּ** instead of **וַיֵּצְאוּ**.<sup>1</sup> But what is the antecedent of those who "come forth"? If we could accept the third person singular of the Septuagint (**וַיֵּצֵא**) the reference would be to "Aššûr" in verse 22; indeed the plural participle might also be understood in the same sense, **אֲשׁוּר** being construed as a collective. But **וַיֵּצְאוּ** cannot signify the "sea-coast;" it is used only of the "bank" of a river, not of the shore of the sea. I am, therefore, tempted to believe that the passage is corrupt, and that instead of **וַיֵּצְאוּ** we ought, perhaps, to read **וַיֵּצְאוּ**. However this may be, the name of Chittim can be defended only on the supposition that the verse was interpolated into the prophecy in the Persian or Ptolemaic age, and that the name of Aššûr which occurs in it denotes Syria. But against this supposition several weighty reasons may be urged. The obvious corruption of the first words of the verse and the various readings to which they have given rise can but be explained on the hypothesis that the verse was of much greater antiquity than such a supposition would imply; moreover, it is Eber and not Aššûr which is "also to perish forever;" and lastly the words **וַיֵּצְאוּ אֲשׁוּר** are manifestly an interpolation. They destroy the parallelism of the verse; they interrupt the context, which states that Eber and not Aššûr is to perish; and the repetition of the word **וַיֵּצְאוּ** indicates a scribe's error. Furthermore, unless Aššûr is taken to mean Syria, it could hardly be attacked, and as a matter of history, we know never was attacked, by an expedition coming from Cyprus; while it is difficult to make Aššûr synonymous with Eber, as the present reading of the verse would imply. It seems to me, therefore, that "Aššûr" must originally have been a marginal gloss upon **וַיֵּצְאוּ**, which subsequently made its way into the text, and once there was necessarily provided with a second **וַיֵּצְאוּ**. The whole verse would thus run: "And they come out of . . . . ., and they (i. e., the Assyrians) afflict Eber." It must be left to future research to decide what tribe or nationality can be meant by "Eber." It may be noted, however, that Abram after coming out of Syria is called "the Hebrew" in Gen. XIV. 13, and that Damascene tradition made him a king of Damascus.

It is now time to return to the latter part of the verse 17, with which the prophecy of Balaam begins. I have already noticed that the passage is found in varying forms in other parts of the Old Testament, where it is provided with a context which is wanting here. Its oldest form seems to be preserved in Num. XXI. 28. Here a *mâšâl* or "old poem"<sup>2</sup> is quoted, like the *mâšâl* which Balaam is said to have "taken up," and which, though subsequently adapted to the conquest of Moab by the Israelites, is really an Amorite

<sup>1</sup> This is also the reading of the Samaritan codex and version (**וַיֵּצְאוּ** and **וַיֵּצְאוּ**). The Targum of Jonathan has **וַיֵּצְאוּ** "armies," which, however, cannot be construed any more than the Massoretic **וַיֵּצְאוּ**.

<sup>2</sup> In Assyrian *mašhu* denotes "an extract" from an old book (W. A. L., IV. 15, 28).

song of triumph—the single specimen of Amorite literature that has been preserved to us. Its adaptation to the successes of Israel caused one portion of it to become popular among Hebrew writers; hence we find Jeremiah quoting it in XLVIII. 45, 46, and Amos slightly varying its words in II. 2. Balaam treats the original with the same freedom as Amos.

The original ran as follows (Num. XXI. 28): "For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon;<sup>1</sup> it hath consumed Ar of Moab, the lords of the high places of the Arnon." In Balaam's adaptation this becomes, "There has trodden a star out of Jacob and a sceptre has arisen out of Israel; and it has shattered the temples of Moab and the head of all the sons of Sheth." Here I have corrected the Massoretic reading קרקר into the קדקד of the text of Jeremiah; קרקר, the Pilpel of קור "to dig up," is not used of living persons, and would moreover destroy the parallelism of the verse. It is on account of the parallelism, moreover, that I have followed Ewald in rendering פאתי by "the temples" of the head, in accordance with Lev. XIX. 27, though the Septuagint, Vulgate and Syriac, like the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, must have read פחתי "governors"—a reading certainly more conformable with the original than פאתי.

For Heshbon and the city of Sihon Balaam substitutes Jacob and Israel; for the ideas of "fire" and "flame" he substitutes those of "star" and "sceptre." But the two latter ideas are not in parallelism with one another, while the verb מחץ, with which they are construed, is applicable only to the "sceptre," and not to "the star." Moreover the verb דרך to which כוכב serves as nominative cannot be used of a star; the natural verb to employ with כוכב would be הם which is, however, appropriated to שבת. Either כוכב or שבת must be a false reading, and since the verbs apply to שבת and not to כוכב, it is clear that it must be the latter word which is in fault. I cannot, however, propose a satisfactory emendation. The analogy of Gen. XLIX. 10, would suggest a word like מחקק; but דרך is also a strange expression, and the analogy of Num. XXI. 28, and Jer. XLVIII. 45, would lead us to expect only one verb.

The change made in the second part of the passage in Balaam's prophecy is followed by Jeremiah, except that Jeremiah necessarily retains the אכל of the original in place of Balaam's מחץ. The only differences between Jeremiah and Balaam are that Jeremiah has the singular פאת instead of the dual פאתי and ער מואב instead of שת.<sup>2</sup> Amos also (II. 2), who has transformed the ער מואב of the original into the like-sounding ארמנות, evidently read שאן which he explains by תרועה and קול שופר, an addition which spoils the rhythm of

<sup>1</sup> For מבין סיון, Jer. XLVIII. 5 gives us the ungrammatical מקרית סיון, where it is obvious that we should read בית "the house of Sihon," like the Assyrian Bit-Humri for Samaria.

<sup>2</sup> I have already discussed קרקר instead of קדקד.

his verse.<sup>1</sup> The reading שֶׁאֵן must therefore be early. On the other hand, while the more difficult שֶׁת might be explained by the more intelligible שֶׁאֵן, it is impossible to suppose that שֶׁאֵן could have been corrupted into a word which was such a puzzle to later generations as שֶׁת. Here as elsewhere the rule holds good that the harder reading is the best.

Regarding שֶׁת, then, as the word of which שֶׁאֵן was a later attempt at explanation, what meaning can we assign to it? The expression "all the sons of Sheth" replaces the words of the original, "the lords of the high place of Arnon." The latter were the Moabites, who worshiped on the high places of Arnon; the inference therefore is obvious that "the sons of Sheth" were the Moabites who worshiped in the same locality. The expression will thus be parallel to Ben-Ammi, "an Ammonite" (Gen. xix. 38); and since we now know that Ammi was the name of the god of Ammon, we may conclude that Sheth also was the name of the Moabite god who was worshiped on the very high-places from which Balaam surveyed the children of Israel.

The conclusion is verified by archæological evidence. At the foot of the south-eastern angle of the Harem at Jerusalem Sir C. Warren found among other fragments of early pottery two handles ornamented with a representation of the winged solar disk and inscriptions in Phœnician letters of the pre-exilic period. One of these reads לִמְלֶךְ-צִיף "belonging to Melech-Tsiph," the other לִמְלֶךְ-שֶׁת "belonging to Melech-Sheth." The latter name can only be explained as signifying "Moloch is Sheth," like Malchiel, Malchiyah or Melchizedek, thus bearing witness to the fact that not only was Sheth a deity, but that he was worshiped by persons who left their pottery within the precincts of Jerusalem in the valley of the sons of Hinnom. It is therefore possible that Dr. Neubauer may be right in identifying him with the antediluvian patriarch Seth, the father of Enos or "Man," as well as in seeing his name in the *Bosheth* of Mephi-bosheth and Ish-bosheth (2 Sam. ii. 8; 1 Chron. viii. 33) where *Bosheth* has first been contracted from בֶן-שֶׁת (as in Bedad for Ben-Dad) and then assimilated to בִּשְׁת "shame." What makes the latter conjecture the more probable is that שֶׁת must mean "the phallus" (see 2 Sam. x. 4; Isa. xx. 4), and stand for שֶׁנַּת, the Assyrian *sinatu* "urine." Possibly Sheth was the native name of the Moabite god Baal-peor.

I am inclined to believe that the name of the god Sheth occurs in Gen. iv. 7, in a very disguised form. We here have an old proverb quoted: "If thou doest well, it is שֶׁאֵת; and if thou doest not well, חֲטָאת lieth at the door." Now the second part of the phrase is found in the Assyrian legend of the plague-god Nerra (M. 55. col. I. 4) where we read D. P. Ner-ra ra-bi-ṣu abulli-ṣu "the god

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the קֶחַ of Amos was suggested by the like-sounding קֶחַת, the poetical synonym of קֶחַ.

Nerra lieth at its gate."<sup>1</sup> Consequently חטאת will be the Hebrew equivalent of the Assyrian Nerra, and will mean, not "sin"—which makes no sense—but rather the punishment that follows upon sin. It has taken the place of the earlier angel of pestilence. As the latter portion of the proverb thus once contained the name of a deity, the first portion of it must have done so too, and since the termination of שאת has obviously been assimilated to that of חטאת, it is reasonable to suppose that this divine name was שת. When the proverb passed into Hebrew mouths, the god Sheth became an abstract noun, and with the assistance of the interpolated נ and the change of ש into ש was identified with שאת "exaltation." The latter word, however, agrees but badly with the context of the proverb, and can only be forced into harmony with it by the gratuitous supposition that פנים is "understood."

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<sup>1</sup> We should notice the difference of form assumed by the proverb in the mouths of the settled Babylonians and the nomad Hebrews. The "city-gate" of the one is replaced by the "tent-door" of the other.

# THE GREEK WORDS IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL.<sup>1</sup>

BY PROF. HARTWIG DERENBOURG.

[Translated from the French by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.]

The ethnographical table in the Book of Genesis names יָוָאֵן (Yâwân) among the sons of Japheth (יָפֶֿתֿ).<sup>2</sup> Throughout the Orient the term Ionians ("Ἴωνες, 'Ιάονες) has become a synonym for Greeks. Both in the Semitic and the Aryan cosmography it appears to have been applied to the two sea-coasts which face each other, separated—and reunited by the numerous islands of the Ægæan Sea—from the province of that name on the western borders of Asia Minor running out into a sharp-pointed, irregularly shaped cape in the direction of Hellas.<sup>3</sup> The Greeks themselves knew of the deep-seated confusion which led the barbarians to identify them with the "long-robed Ionians."<sup>4</sup> "The Athenians," says Herodotus,<sup>5</sup> "were not unaware of this fact, but refused to recognize any such term; and even to this day the greater part resent the appellation as an insult."

The compiler of these old biblical genealogies, in which each people is personified by an individual, continues in these words: "And the sons of Yâwân were Elishâh (אֱלִישָׁה), Tarshîsh (תַּרְשִׁישׁ),<sup>6</sup> the Kittites (כִּתִּיִּם) and the Rhôdânites (רֹדְנִיִּם)."<sup>7</sup> The identifications which have been proposed for these terms occurring several times in the Old Testament, are innumerable; and the literature on the subject furnishes in itself material for an entire bibliography. Our own preference is Æolis (ἡ Αἰολίς),<sup>8</sup> the Iberian colony of Tartessos (Ταρτησός), the Cyprians, inhabitants of Citium (οἱ Κιτταῖοι),<sup>9</sup> and the Rhodians (οἱ Ῥόδιοι).

<sup>1</sup> See *Mélanges Graux* (pp. 235-244) Paris, 1884. [The Translator retains, where practicable, Professor Derenbourg's transcription of Hebrew and Greek proper names.]

<sup>2</sup> x. 2 (cf. the parallel 1 Chr. i. 5). The other biblical examples of the word יָוָאֵן are Gen. x. 4 (cf. 1 Chr. i. 7); Isa. lxxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 18; Joel iv. 6 (כְּנִי דְיוֹנִיִּם "the sons of the Ionians"); Zech. xi. 13; Dan. viii. 21, where Alexander the great is designated as מֶלֶךְ יוֹן "the king of the Greeks;" x. 20, where he is called שֹׁר יוֹן "the chief of the Greeks," who rules מְלָכֻת יוֹן "the kingdom of Greece" (xi. 2). All the epigraphical and literary material bearing on this ancient term has been carefully collected and discussed by Prof. B. Stade, in his essay *De populo Javan parergon patrio sermone conscriptum* (Gissæ, 1860).

<sup>3</sup> A. Picotet, "Les Yavanes et les Ionians dans Les Origines Indo-européennes." 2. ed. Paris, 1877. I., p. 76 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Ἴάονες ἑλλαχίτωνες, *Ilad*, XIII., 685.

<sup>5</sup> Book I., 143. See also the very interesting passages on this subject collected by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 587b.

<sup>6</sup> The text in 1 Chr. i. 7, reads תַּרְשִׁישָׁה in order to perfect a rhyme among the four names, divided into two pairs.

<sup>7</sup> So the reading in Chronicles, according to which Genesis, where we have רֹדְנִיִּם, is to be corrected. The Septuagint and the Samaritan translations have already in Genesis the reading which we, following the example of Reuss and Stade, regard as the preferable one. Reuss, however, adds that, for the "Dardanites," some have suggested the Dardaniens, others, Trojans or Dodone and even Illyrians ("L'histoire sainte et la loi, I., p. 331). Note also Ezek. xxvii. 19, 20, where Yâwân and Dedân follow close upon one another.

<sup>8</sup> This, according to Stade (*op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9), was the ancient name of Carthage.

<sup>9</sup> At present the village of Larnaca, which figures in the first part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (pp. 85-100) with seventy-eight inscriptions. Ezekiel speaks of the "isles of the Cithians."

The conquests of Alexander, in the year 332 B. C., gave the Greek language a preponderating influence in Palestine. Hebrew grammar, indeed, firmly resisted the Macedonian sway, as it formerly presented an inflexible front against Persian rule; but the vocabulary was enriched by the addition of a number of foreign words, imported with new conceptions for which there existed no equivalents in the national tongue. It is of the Greek elements in the Book of Daniel that I propose to treat.

The date and composition of the Book of Daniel have been fixed with an absolute certainty. It is a Palestinian work<sup>1</sup> of the year 169 or 168 before the Christian era. Hebrew and an Aramaic dialect, known as biblical Aramaic, are used alternately, as in the Book of Ezra. But our author goes even further, and does not hesitate to give his work a still stronger polyglottic character by the introduction of Persian and Greek words. M. Haug, in a learned monograph, has traced the etymologies of the former,<sup>2</sup> and I shall endeavor to do the same for the latter.

King Nebukadnessar (נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר), we are told, had erected a statue which was to be dedicated in the presence of all the dignitaries of the kingdom. The herald charged to "proclaim with might" the orders of the king, is called כְּרוֹמָא which is the ordinary Aramaean transcription of the Greek κήρυξ. The herald speaks as follows to the noble assembly: "Peoples, nations and languages! At the moment when ye hear the sound of the cornet, the flute, guitar, harp, psaltery, bag-pipe, in a word, of all instruments, ye shall fall down and prostrate yourselves before the statue of gold which king Nebukadnessar has set up."<sup>3</sup>

The unfashionable sounds of the Kinnôr and Ugâb, the invention of which, according to the Bible, reaches back to the earliest days of humanity,<sup>4</sup> are here replaced by the grander tones of a foreign orchestra.

1st. The cornet, כְּרִנָּה. The proper meaning of the word is "horn" of an animal; it is used in this sense in the very same Book of Daniel (vii. 7, 8, 20, 21, 24.) But wherever the word has penetrated, it has been applied to designate a wind-instrument of one kind or another. The analogy of the Greek κέρας (κέρατος) might be invoked; but it is fully counterbalanced by the constant usage in pure

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the linguistic point of view, which in itself is decisive, the contents of ch. IX., referring to Jerusalem, removes all further doubts.

<sup>2</sup> In Ewald's *Jahrbuecher d. Bibl. Wissenschaft* (1853), V., pp. 151-164.

<sup>3</sup> A denominative verbal form is found in v. 29, וְכָרַן, which has the sense of κηρύσσω "proclaim by voice of herald." Dan. iii. 4. The "wâw" (ו), which I have rendered by "in a word," is frequently used in this way by the author of the Book of Daniel when, at the end of a detailed enumeration, he resumes the thread of his discourse. So ch. iii. 2, וְכָרַן מִן־כָּל־שְׁלֹטְנֵי־מִדְּבָרָא means "in a word all the dignitaries of the kingdom;" iii. 21, וְכָרַן מִן־כָּל־שְׁלֹטְנֵי־מִדְּבָרָא means "in a word, all their garments;" iii. 27, וְכָרַן מִן־כָּל־שְׁלֹטְנֵי־מִדְּבָרָא means "in a word all the intimate advisors of the king," etc. A similar use of the copula "wâw" is not without example in Hebrew, as ii. Exod. xx 9.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. iv. 21. Professor Grätz, whose indefatigable activity leads him to all subjects, has devoted an extensive article to the part which music played in the temple of Jerusalem. See *Monatschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judenthums*, 1881, No. 6; and also his commentary to the Psalms (Breslau, 1882), I., 84 seq.

Hebrew of קֶרֶן in the proper sense of "horn."<sup>1</sup> Nor is it likely that the Latin form *cornu* should have contributed to this transformed meaning of κέρας, for it is only a century later that Rome appears on the scene, to play the rôle of conqueror of the present and destroyer of the past, in the Orient.

2d. The flute, מִשְׁרוּקִיתָא. Like karna, this word is the result of a compromise between the Hebrew-Aramaic stem שָׁרַק "whistle" and the Greek σὺριγξ. The prefix and termination are Semitic; but the body of the word, shrôkî, bears a resemblance to σὺριγξ which is rendered all the more striking by the fact that, in proper names, a Shin is always the equivalent of the Greek Sigma. Both the Septuagint and the version of Theodotion have σὺριγξ. It ought to be added, however, that, according to a Greek tradition preserved in the *Onomasticon* of Pollux (IV., 9, § 15), this species of pipe is claimed to be an invention of two Medes.

3. The guitar, קִתְרִים, with the variant קִתְרִים.<sup>2</sup> While the foreign origin of the two preceding words may be disputed, and in fact has been often contested, there is a general consensus in regarding κίθαρς (a poetic form of κιθάρα),<sup>3</sup> as the source of kathros.

4. The *sambuca*, סַמְבֻּכָא. The Greek forms for this species of harp are σαμβύκη, σάμβυξ (σάμβυχος), ζαμβύκη, perhaps also ιαμβύκη. From what region the word came to the Greeks it is difficult to determine. Neither Athenæus *Deipnosophistes* (IV., 23), nor Strabo, *Geography* (X., §17), consider it to be of Greek origin. The instrument acquired great favor at Rome, in the hands of the fascinating *sambucinae* et *sambucistriae*. In speaking of the latter, Scipio the younger says, in *Macrob. Saturnales* (III., XIV., 6), "Docentur praestigias inhonestas cum cinoedulis et sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum." As in Daniel, the *sambuca* is there joined to psaltery.

5. The psaltery, פִּסְנִיתָא. The termination "in," which might suggest the Aramaean plural, corresponds generally to the Greek ων in Neo-Hebraic and Aramaean transcriptions of Greek words. Thus we have, besides our word,<sup>4</sup> סְנִהֲרִין, σνέδριον,<sup>5</sup> אֲפֹפֹרִין, ἰποπόδιον,<sup>6</sup> etc.

<sup>1</sup> In one passage, indeed (Jos. vi. 5), קֶרֶן is used by the side of the ordinary term Shôfâr, to designate a trumpet. The enumeration of the musical instruments in the third chapter of Daniel occurs again in vs. 7, 10 and 15, with slight variations, which will be treated in their proper place. My quotations are according to the critical edition of Baer & Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1882).

<sup>2</sup> So the K'thib in the four examples of this word, while according to the K'ri the vocalization is "Kathros," with the suppression of the "yôd."

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1215a, has collected a number of instances where the termination "os" has in Aramaean been substituted for a Greek formation in "is."

<sup>4</sup> The "n" has also left its trace in the variant פִּסְנִיתָא (v. 7).

<sup>5</sup> The French "sanhedrin" has been adopted directly from the Aramaean form, which is overlooked in Littré's French Dictionary.

<sup>6</sup> Quite a number of such examples have been collected by Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1116b. M. Dozy has shown that the Arabic authors and copyists likewise adopt a termination "in" in the transcription of Latin words in place of "us." So "Romanus" becomes with them "Românin," and "Alvitus" is changed to "Alvitin." Dozy, "Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge." 8d ed. (1881), I., p. 104.



6. The bag-pipe, **סַמְפֹּנְיָה**.<sup>1</sup> This is the Greek *συμφωνία*, which, moreover, all the ancient versions have reproduced with rare unanimity; the Septuagint as well as Theodotion, the *Veneta* as also the Vulgate. According to a fragment of Polybius, preserved in Athenæus *Deipnosophistes* (X., 52), Antiochus Epiphanes showed a marked fondness for this instrument at the very epoch when the Book of Daniel was written. The bag-pipe, it is supposed, was thus called, because the sound obtained by the aid of two tubes produces for the ear a "symphony" of harmonious tones.<sup>2</sup>

Besides **כַּרְזָא** and the six musical instruments, the "Chaldaean" portion of Daniel (II. 4b—VII.) contains a number of words which appear to come of Greek stock. They are as follows:

(a) **פַּתְגָּם** "word," which is found only in Ezra and the more modern literature of Israel,<sup>3</sup> is perhaps a derivation of the ancient Persian (Pehlevi) "patgam," in modern Persian, "paigam," but possibly also the equivalent of the Greek *πῶγμα*.<sup>4</sup>

(b) **פַּטִּישׁ**.<sup>5</sup> If the explanation of Ewald<sup>6</sup> be accepted, it is the Greek *πέτασος* "hat."

(c) **הַמְנוּכָא**, with the variant **הַמְנוּכָא**,<sup>7</sup> "necklace," is clearly the Greek *μανιάχης*, with a prosthetic aspiration which might mislead, had we not, on the other hand, the form **מְנוּכָא** in the Targum and in the Talmud (Levy's *Chald. Dict.*, s. v.).

(d) **סַרְכִּין**, plural of an unused singular **סַרְךָ** "prefect," "magistrate," probably an assemblage of officials, sitting as the members of a tribunal, or of a grand council, which recalls the archons (*ἀρχοντες*), or rather, if one wishes to account for the initial sibilant, *συνάρχοντες*.<sup>8</sup>

(e) **רִחִין**, an *ἀπαξ εἰρημύμενον*,<sup>9</sup> which the Vulgate translates "cibi;" the Septu-

<sup>1</sup> In vs. 5 and 15. In verse 7 it is omitted, and in verse 10 it appears with a K<sup>thib</sup> **סַמְפֹּנְיָה** and a K<sup>ri</sup> **סַמְפֹּנְיָה**.

<sup>2</sup> Forcellini, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, s. v., knows of an instrument called "symphonia," and compares the "sompogna" of the Italian villages.

<sup>3</sup> Dan. iii. 16; iv. 14; Ezra iv. 17; v. 7, 11; vi. 11; Esth. i. 20; Eccles. viii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> According to Halévy, "Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation babylonienne," p. 268 (Paris, 1876), this word is rather the Greek *πριγμα*, a Dorian form, as he supposes, of *πρόσγμα*.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. iii. 31, where the K<sup>thib</sup> is **פַּטִּישׁ** and the K<sup>ri</sup> **פַּטִּישׁ**.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Propheten d. Alten Bundes*, 3d ed., III., p. 476. The Septuagint and the Arabic versions translate in much the same way, "their tiaras." Lagarde derives the word from the Indian "pattiga," "pattiga." See *Symmicta*, I., p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> According to the K<sup>ri</sup>, Dan. v. 7, 16, 20. The Septuagint has *ὁ μανιάχης ὁ χρῆστος*.

<sup>8</sup> Dan. iii. 4, 5, 7, 8. Haug claims Persian origin for this word. See loc. cit. p. 162. Besides the form **סַרְכִּין** in the Targum Onkelos, the Targums of Jerusalem furnish us with a form **סַרְכִּין**, also a singular in the sense of "prince," "sovereign," which Levy, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch*, II., p. 119a, compares with *ἀρχων*.

<sup>9</sup> Dan. vi. 19. I am well aware that the modern critics have adopted an entirely different view, and agree in translating "and concubines he permitted not to come to him." Among those favoring this view may be mentioned Gesenius and Lengerke (1836), Hitzig (1860) with a slight variation (he translates "Dirnen"), Kranichfeld (1868), Kell (1869), Reuss (1879). For all

agent with *ἐδέσμευα*, and the Arabic version also as food, and which I propose to connect with *עדו* "to eat," in conformity with the ancient tradition, all the more reliable, in this instance, for bordering so close upon the period of the composition of the work.

With all possible reserve, I add to this list,

(f) The comparison which has been ventured between the enigmatical *נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר* occurring twice (ii. 6; v. 17), and in both passages in connection with *מִתְּנֵן* "gifts," and the Greek *νόμισμα* "money," by a quite plausible exchange of "m" and "b." The common translation both of ancient and modern versions and commentators is "rewards."

In the Hebrew portion of Daniel (i. 2, 4a, 8-11) there are also some words which may be traced to Greek prototypes, although in some of these instances it is possible to prove a Greek origin with absolute certainty:

1. In *פְּרָתְמִים* (i. 3) "nobles" I believe we may recognize, with Gesenius,<sup>1</sup> the *πρότιμοι*, if the word is not, following Ewald, to be referred to a Persian word of the same stem and formation.<sup>2</sup>

2. *לִפְדֵי אֵשׁ* (x. 6) "flaming torches" is given in the Septuagint as *λαμπάδες*. The reduplication of the "pe" (פ) in the Hebrew word strengthens the probability of an identification between *לִפְדֵי* and *λαμπάς* (*λαμπάδος*). But, on the other hand, the force of the objection that the word "lappid" is found at all periods of Hebrew literature<sup>3</sup> cannot be denied. Possibly it is really the Greek *λάμπω* "shine," with all its derivatives, which is of Semitic origin.

3. It is customary to render *מִכְמֵנִים* (xi. 43) as "treasures." So the Vulgate and the Syriac, while the Septuagint and the Arabic, translating "hidden stores," seem to refer the word to a Semitic stem "kaman" (hide, conceal). As for the modern commentators, they are as unanimous in their translation "treasures" as in their silence with regard to the derivation. I imagine that they take the word in the sense of "preserved," "stored away," as *מִטְמֵנִים*, which differs from our word only in the first letter of the stem, and as the Arabic *ذَخَائِرُ* (*dhakhâ'irou*). But for my part, I am strongly inclined to suspect that we have here a phenomenon similar to that pointed out above in the case of *מִשְׁרֻקִיתָא*, namely, a Semitic formation grafted on an Indo-European word. Just as in

that, apart from the importance to be attached to almost contemporaneous translations, the comparison with the Hebrew passage (Dan. x. 3), "neither meat nor wine entered my mouth," induces me to translate also here "food he permitted not to be brought before him." The objection that this interpretation would involve a useless repetition, in view of the preceding mention of his fasting, is fully offset by the prolix style of the Book of Daniel. Besides, concubines are called by an entirely different name, *לִיזְנָה* (v. 2, 8, 28).

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache und Schrift* (Leipzig, 1815), p. 64. In his *Thesaurus*, Gesenius speaks in less positive terms. The word is found again in Esther i. 8; vi. 9. Halévy also favors the etymology *πρότιμοι* (op. cit. p. 62).

<sup>2</sup> *Die Propheten*, etc., III., p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xv. 17; Exod. xx. 18; Jud. viii. 16, 20; xv. 4, 5; Isa. lxii. 1, etc.

σύριγξ, so here we have the prefix, preceding a Greek word which appears to me to be κειμήλια. An intentional or unconscious association with כִּמְן "hide" may have brought about the substitution of a Hebrew ך for the Greek λ in the final syllable.<sup>1</sup>

4. When the ancient translators of Daniel came across a word with which they were not familiar, they supposed it to be a proper name and contented themselves with transcribing the word. In this way אֲפֶרְנִי, in the phrase אֶהְיֶה אֲפֶרְנִי (xi. 45), became in the Septuagint Ἐφιδανός, and *Apadnus* in the Vulgate. The Syriac and Arabic translate "in the plain," without accounting for the suffix. The general opinion of scholars to-day is to compare the Arabic فَدَنٌ (*fadanun*), and render the expression by "tents of his palace." However, the old word פָּרָן which in Genesis<sup>2</sup> designates the "plain" (of Aram), seems, having emigrated to Greece, where it is found in the form of πεδίον and πέδον, to re-appear in the Book of Daniel, with a prosthetic א. I do not hesitate to refer the suffix to the whole phrase, and translate "and he will pitch his tents of the plain."

5. Hitzig, in his commentary to the Book of Daniel,<sup>3</sup> has compared the subordinate official charged to superintend the education of Daniel and of his companions, and called הַמְלִיצָר (i. 11) or, without the article, "mešsar," with Μολοσσός, Laconian Μολοσσόρ. Then he connects Μολοσσόρ with κολοσσός, which contains the idea of grandeur, just as, in Hebrew, we have רַב, originally "great," and then used for "master" (rabbi). All this scaffolding is ingeniously put together rather than solidly, and it is useless to point out the untenableness of such a conjecture.<sup>4</sup>

The field of these detailed investigations might perhaps be extended by showing the resemblances from Daniel, the youngest of all the books which have been admitted into the canon, to the most ancient documents, as the song of Deborah, some fragments of Genesis, and some few Psalms. The list of Greek words would grow smaller, until they would gradually disappear altogether, the nearer we would approach the purest and most archaic Hebrew. The conclusions to which such researches, carried on in "cold blood," without fear of the conclusions and with a serene and implacable impartiality, would lead, might be astonishing to some. The supposed antiquity of the "Song of Songs"<sup>5</sup> would

<sup>1</sup> The resemblance between כִּמְן (Isa. xxviii. 25, 27) and κύμινον "cumin," is of course not accidental. The word belongs to that numerous class of terms expressing natural objects common to the Semitic and Indo-European families. Gesenius, in his *Geschichte* (pp. 65-68), has treated with great exactness the words common to the two groups. Ernest Renan has taken up the same subject in his *Histoire des Langues Semitiques* (4th ed.) pp. 204-210; and it is needless to add that his remarks bear, as usual, the stamp of his marvelous tact and encyclopædic knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5, 6, 7; xxxi. 18; xxxviii. 18; xxxv. 9; xli. 15.

<sup>3</sup> In the series *Kurzegefasstes exeget. Handbuch z. Alt. Test.*, p. 11 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Halévy (op. cit. 262) compares the Greek μυλωνός *müller*. He has also proposed a Greek etymology for מְלִיצָר (Dan i. 5, 8, 18, 15; xi. 25), which he connects with ποτιφάγιον, a Dorian form of προσφάγιον. *Ib.*, p. 240, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Even those that deny the authenticity of the Song of Songs, and refuse to regard it as a

have to be tested anew by such a study, undertaken by scholars, free from all apologetic prejudices.<sup>1</sup> But what if the composition of the book be moved down some centuries, would the song for that be any less the poem *par excellence* of vernal love? Would the "dark spikenard" Sulamith exhale a perfume less sweet?<sup>2</sup> Would not all the lovers of the beautiful and of the ideal continue to ask, with the royal lover, "Who is this that shineth like the morning dawn; beautiful as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as a battalion of warriors?"

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work of King Solomon, ordinarily place its composition about the tenth century before our era. According to our conclusions the date cannot be earlier than the Macedonian conquest, which took place in 332. The beauty and richness of the style recalls that of the Psalms of this epoch; and the book seems to have been written in the first years of the Macedonian sway, at the close of the fourth century before the Christian era. Without entering into details, I would recall מִן הַגִּדִּי (Cant. iii. 9), which the Septuagint translates *φορειον* "couch," and גִּדִּי (iv. 13) "garden," which reproduces exactly the consonants and vowels of *παράδεισος*. Incidental to the former word, which occurs in the Targum under the form מִן הַגִּדִּי, without the prosthetic alef (Levy, "Chald. Wörterbuch," II., p. 290a), and in the Talmud under the form מִן הַגִּדִּי, Dr. M. Sachs speaks of "the modern Hebrew of the Song of Songs." *Beiträge z. Sprach- u. Alterthumforschung aus tuedischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1852-54), II., p. 69.

<sup>1</sup> Grätz has undertaken such an investigation with an inexorable logical force, in his book *Das Hohelied uebersetzt u. kritisch erlaeutert* (Leipzig, 1871). In his *Kohélet* (Leipzig, 1871) he has collected, in an appendix, the "Grecisms in Kohélet."

<sup>2</sup> Song i. 12. On גִּדִּי "spikenard" (*nardus*) see Löw, *Aramaäische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 368.

## AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE "REVELATION OF EZRA."

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In the *Zeitschrift f. d. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VI., 1886, p. 199, Prof. Baethgen, of Kiel, has given the Syriac text of an Ezra Apocalypse from a Berlin MS. (Sachau 131).<sup>1</sup> Prof. Isaac H. Hall had before this given a translation of the same text from a MS. belonging to the Union Theological Seminary in New York.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Baethgen has overlooked what Steinschneider has said (ZDMG. XXVIII., p. 647) in reference to this Apocalypse. In addition to the London and Roman copies, there is a MS. of this text in Paris. Dr. Steinschneider suggests that the Arabic Paris MS. 107 contains the same text. The following extracts from that MS. which Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg has very kindly made at my request, show that Dr. Steinschneider was, in the main, right in his supposition. The substance of both is the same, though the Arabic represents a different and, at times, a fuller version. I give the text just as Prof. Derenbourg sent it. Of the MS. he says: "Le nouveau catalogue, rédigé en français a pour base des bulletins rédigés par le célèbre orientaliste italien Amari, contient ce qui suit à la page 34: '2° (fol. 14) Explication de la vision que le prophète Daniel raconta à son disciple Esdras, et indication de ce qui doit arriver aux enfants d'Ismael e d'Agar la Copte.' Le texte auguel il est fait allusion commence au fol. 14 r° au haut de la page après une page blanche et finit à la ligne 2 du fol. 20 r°."

In the same article Dr. Baethgen treats of the Syriac text of Epiphanius' "Lives of the Prophets" contained in Sachau 131.<sup>3</sup> The opening sections in the Syriac on the authorship of the different biblical books and on the life of Job, seem to be wanting in the Greek recensions. It might be interesting to follow up some of these notes to their source. There is no doubt that some of them go back to Talmudic traditions, e. g., that Moses wrote the Book of Job,<sup>4</sup> or that Pinhâs was concerned in the composition of Joshua.

The notices about Job are also given in the lexicons of Bar 'Alî and Bar Bahlûl; see Payne Smith, col. 140, s. v. ‎; 1537, s. v. ‎. Rabbenu Tam was also of opinion that 'Alûkâ is the name of a wise man.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also *Journal of the Soc. of Bb. Lit. and Exeg.*, Dec. 1886, p. 102; *The Independent*, Jan. 18, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Presbyterian Review*, 1886, p. 537.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Soc. of Bb. Lit. and Exeg.*, Dec., 1886, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Fürst, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments*, p. 80; Marx, *Traditio Rabbīnorum Veterīma*, p. 14; Baer and Strack, *Düdduke Hateamim*, p. 78; cf. also B. O., I., 488.

<sup>5</sup> Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 498.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس  
الاله الواحد له المجد امين .

نبتدى بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بشرح روىا دانيال النبي  
الذى اخبر به عزرة تلميذه بما يكون من خبر بنى اسمعيل بن  
هاجر القبطية .

بسلام الرب امين . امين . امين .

قال دانيال النبي لعزرة تلميذه اسمع روىاى يا ابنى واعجب من  
اعمال الله البرّ وعدله وقايق (sic) امره وثبات قوله فى جميع الخلف  
والامم واعلم انى رايت ملاكا نزل من السماء يسبح ويبجد وعليه  
لباس ابيض ووجهه كالبرق منير يزهر ويداه وساعداه وذراعا  
كالنحاس وعيناه مثل شعاع الشمس وبيده اليمنى محله (مجلّة 1.)  
مملوءة كتابة . فقال لى ان الله قد سمع صلواتك وارسلنى اليك  
اعرفك ما يكون فى اخر الزمان وهذه المجلّة لك فافتح واقرا ما  
فيها واخذت المجلّة من يده بخشية ورعدة فنشرتها وقراتها فاذا  
فيها بلايا شتى ومضرّة بالغة شديدة الضكّة (sic) وحمدت الله الذى  
يرفع من يشا ويمنع من يشاء وله الملك والقدرة وقلت يا رب  
احفظ وخلص شعبك من الحية الضارية التى فمها مملوء سماً وليس  
الخلاص منها بل منك انت ايها الاله القوى الجبار ثم نظرت الى  
المجلّة فاذا فيها حية على رأسها اثنى عشر قرنا وعلى ذنبها تسعة  
قصبان تجى من البرية ورايتها تقابل جميع الشعوب والامم  
وسلطانها شديد على كل البشر وهى مخوفة تتجرع السم وتنضم

على من (fol. 14. v<sup>o</sup>) صلاحها ثم رايت ملاكا نزل من السماء فقتلها  
وفرقت قضبانها الخ

The Apocalypse ends as follows :

(fol. 19. v<sup>o</sup>) ويكون لليهود فرح لانهم يقولون هو المسيح الذى  
ينتظرونه ويجمعهم ويتبعه عامة الناس الا الاصفياء الصابرون فى  
الجهاد ثم يحى ايليا واحنوح فيبكيانه مواجهه ومجاهداته  
مجاهدة وتكون اراقة دماءهم على يديه ثم ينزل الرب من السماء  
مع ملائكته المقربين فهلك المرذول ويسمع من فى القبور القرن  
العظيم فيقومون ويسجدون لله ويرون العلامة المقدسة التى كفروا  
بها فيتعجبون منها ويفرح الابرار ويكزنون المكرمون وتمضى  
الابرار امام الالههم فى العمام (الغمام sic, l. 1) الى المملوت (الملكوت  
sic, l. 1) وتذهب الاشرار الى العم (الغم sic, l. 1) والعذاب الشديد ولما  
رأيت (20 r<sup>2</sup>) انا دانيال هذه الرويا وكتبتها وتركتها تذكرة للاخرين  
والسبح لله دائما ابدا سرمدا  
امين . امين . امين .

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one God, to whom glory [is ascribed], Amen.

With the aid of God, the exalted, and his beautiful guidance, we will commence the explanation of the story of the Prophet Daniel, which he told to Ezra, his pupil, in reference to that which was to happen in the history of the children of Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian. With the peace of God! Amen! Amen! Amen!

Daniel, the prophet, said to Ezra, his pupil: Listen to my story, O my son! and wonder at the works of God, the faithful one, and at his justice, and at.... of his utterance, and the stability of his word with all living and existing beings. Know then that I saw an angel, clad in a white garment, his face shining like

bright lightning, his hands and fore-arms and his arms [being] like copper, his eyes as the rays of the sun, come from heaven praising and glorifying [God]. And in his right hand there was a scroll full of writing. Then he said to me: God has already heard thy prayers and has sent me to you to tell you what will happen at the end of time. This scroll is for thee: open it, therefore, and read what is in it. Then I took the scroll from his hand with fear and trembling. And I opened it and read it; and behold in it were [mentioned] sundry afflictions and evils which were to come, terrible in..... Then I praised God, who exalts whom he wishes, and brings down whom he wishes; and to him belong the kingdom and the power.

Then I said, O Lord! preserve and keep thy people from the bloody serpent, whose mouth is full of poison. There is no escape from it but in thee. Thou art God, the strong, the mighty one. And I looked into the scroll, and behold there was a serpent [mentioned?] upon whose head were twelve horns and upon whose tail nine [protruding] bones, which was to come from without; and I saw that it would make war upon all mankind, and [upon all] peoples. Its leader was cruel to all flesh; and it [itself] was fearful, ejecting poison as water and casting [it] upon whomsoever lighted upon it.<sup>1</sup> Then I saw an angel come down from heaven, and kill it and break its horns.

(fol. 19 v<sup>o</sup>). And the Jews will be rejoiced because they will say: He is the Messiah for whom they have waited, and [that] he would collect them, and [that] the most men would follow him, except such hard-hearted ones who remain in contention [with him]. Then Elijah will come and Enoch, and the two will drive him to the utmost extremity, and he will make a strong fight. And the shedding of their blood shall be upon his hands. Then will the Lord come down from heaven with his angels who surround him and destroy the wicked one.

And they in the grave will hear the mighty horn. Then they will stand up, and fall down before God, and they will see the holy sign which they had [formerly] denied. Then they will be astonished at it, and the good will rejoice and the damned ones be sad. And the good will come into the presence of their God in the clouds to [inherit] the kingdom, and the wicked will go into trouble and frightful punishment.

And when I, Daniel, had seen this vision, I wrote it down and left it for those that come after me. Praise be to God, the everlasting, the eternal, the perpetual one. Amen! Amen! Amen!

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Derenbourg is not at all certain of the reading of this word. Mr. A. B. Ehrlich, suggests *šādaphahā*, and I have translated accordingly.



## **SOME UNPUBLISHED ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS. (CYLINDER C; 80, 7-19, 15; PS. AND K. 1679.)**

**BY ROBERT F. HARPER, PH. D.,**

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The three historical cylinders of Esarhaddon, now found in the British Museum, I have numbered A, B and C. A is published in I R. 45-47; B in III R. 15-16; C has not as yet been published. The cylinder published in III R. 15-16 has usually been called the "Broken Cylinder" or C, but I have preferred to designate it as B, because it is larger, better preserved and, perhaps, more important than the unpublished and unnumbered cylinder which I have called C.

During the summer of 1885, while working in the Assyrian Room of the British Museum, I had occasion to collate cylinders A and B and to copy cylinder C, together with several other fragments of the Esarhaddon inscriptions. The results of my collations of A and B I have already given in the April number of *HEBRAICA*, on pages 177-185, under the title: "Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R. 45-47 and III R. 15-16." My copy of the hitherto unpublished cylinder C will be found on the following plates.

Cylinder C, as can be seen from these plates, is very badly broken in some places. None of its columns are complete. This cylinder is, however, notwithstanding its very imperfect condition, of the greatest importance for the restoration and establishment of the text of A. The editors of I Rawlinson evidently made much use of C in restoring A. A as published in I R. is quite different from the A found on the original clay cylinder in the British Museum. The editors of I R. have quietly restored (from cylinder C) many lines without comment. Many signs also on A are so badly broken as to be quite unintelligible without the help of C. The two cylinders seem to go hand in hand. The one is necessary to the other. Where A is badly preserved, C is generally well preserved, and the contrary is also true. As a result of this, it is possible to restore the text of A, with the help of C, in all but a very few places. Notice the frequent reference to cylinder C in my "Corrections to A, etc.," in the April *HEBRAICA*.

Great pains were taken in copying cylinder C, as well as 80, 7-19, 15; PS. and K. 1679, and the following plates will be found to be almost exact reproductions of these fragmentary inscriptions. No attempt, however, was made to reproduce the Assyrian signs as they are on the originals. For the convenience

of any who may care to make use of these fragments for comparative work, I add the following scheme:

Cylinder C I. is wanting.

" C II. = Cylinder A I. 44-55, II. 1-29.

" C III. = " A III. 10-53.

" C IV. = " A IV. 16-59.

" C V. = " A V. 22-VI. 16.

" C VI. = " A VI. 38-59.

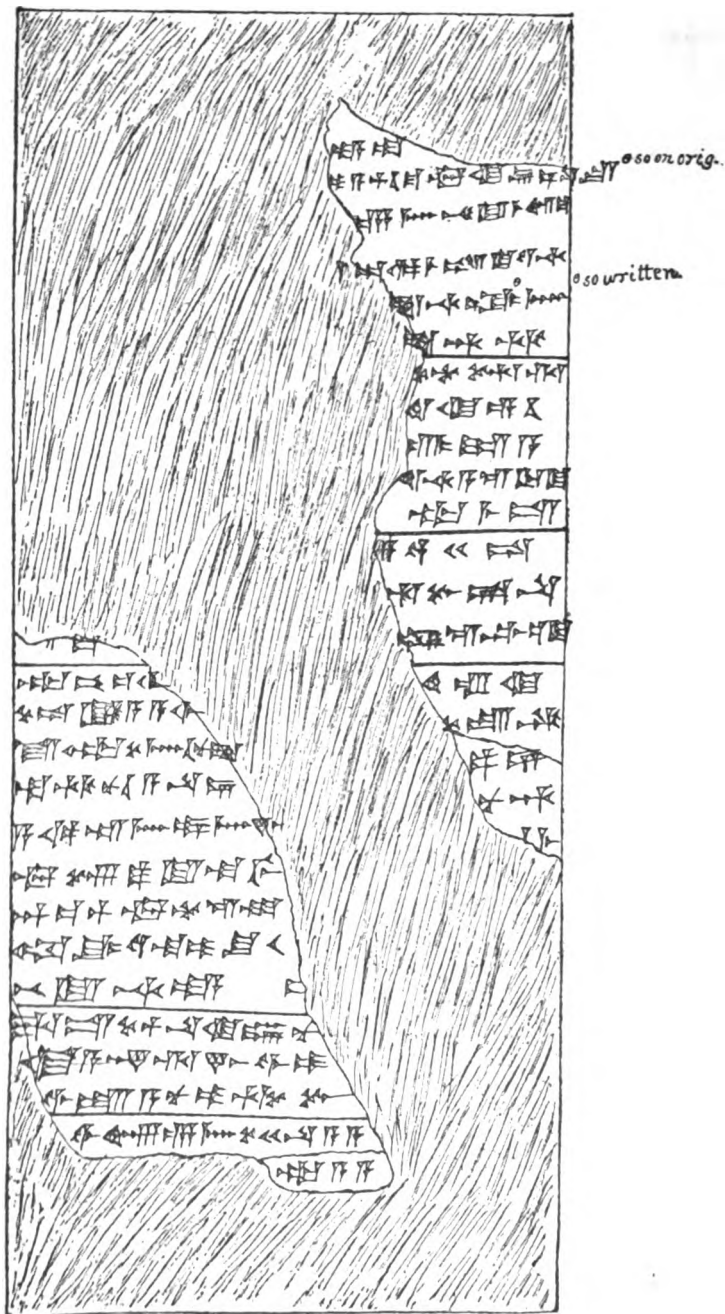
Lines 56-71 published in I R. as belonging to cylinder A VI. are added from C (latter half of col. VI.) and B VI. 12-24. The editors of I R. should have made mention of this fact, as in their present position, there is no reason to believe that they are not to be found on the original of cylinder A. Mr Ernest A. Budge, in his edition of the texts of cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon inscriptions must have made little or no use of cylinder C in his restoration of the text of A. Mr. Budge claims that he made continual reference to all the Esarhaddon texts found in the British Museum; but the condition in which he left the texts of A and B would hardly bear out this statement.

80, 7-19, 15; PS. is a fragment of a cylinder containing now only two badly broken pieces of columns. I have reproduced only the first of these two columns. This column is of great importance in the study of the text of A IV. 8-18 and A III. 25-37.

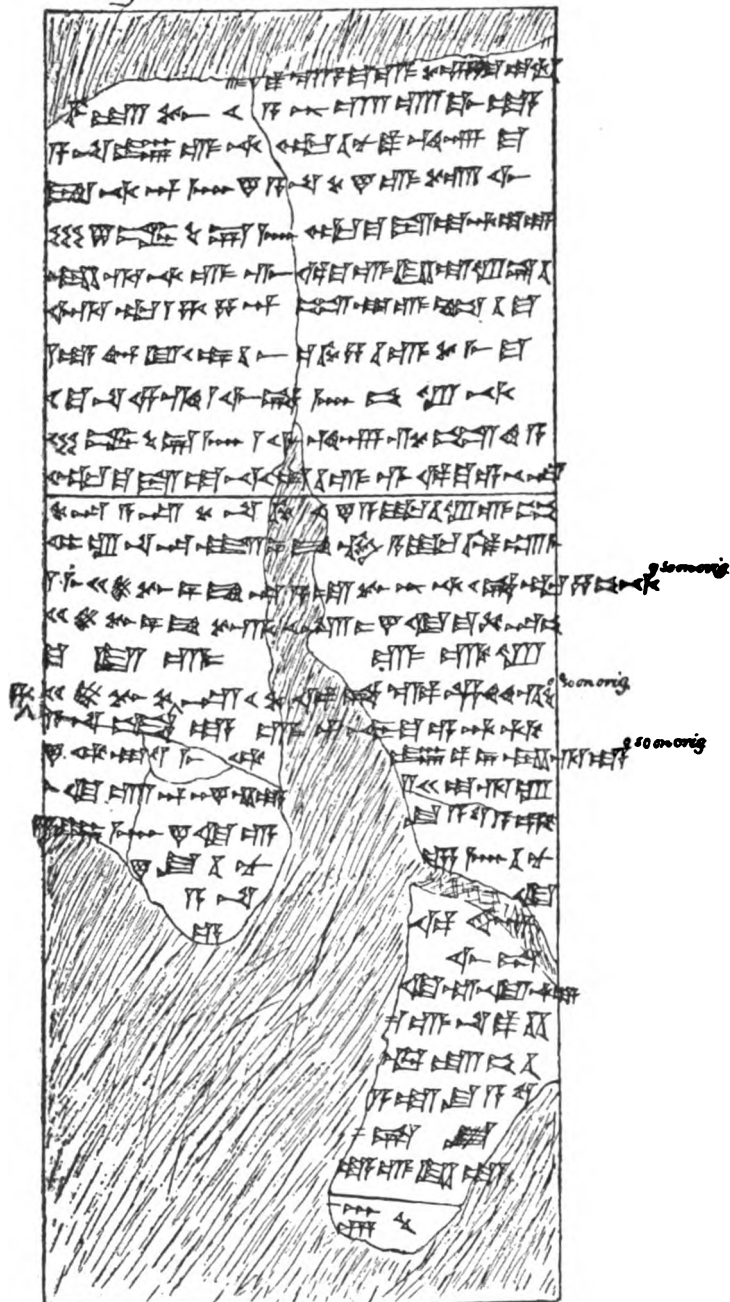
K. 1679, cf. with this small fragment cylinder A I. 40-49.

I am under many obligations to my friend, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, both for the very great kindness he showed me during my stay in the British Museum, and for the collations of several texts he has sent me since my return to America. I am also indebted to my highly-honored teacher, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, for his careful examination of these texts and for several important suggestions.

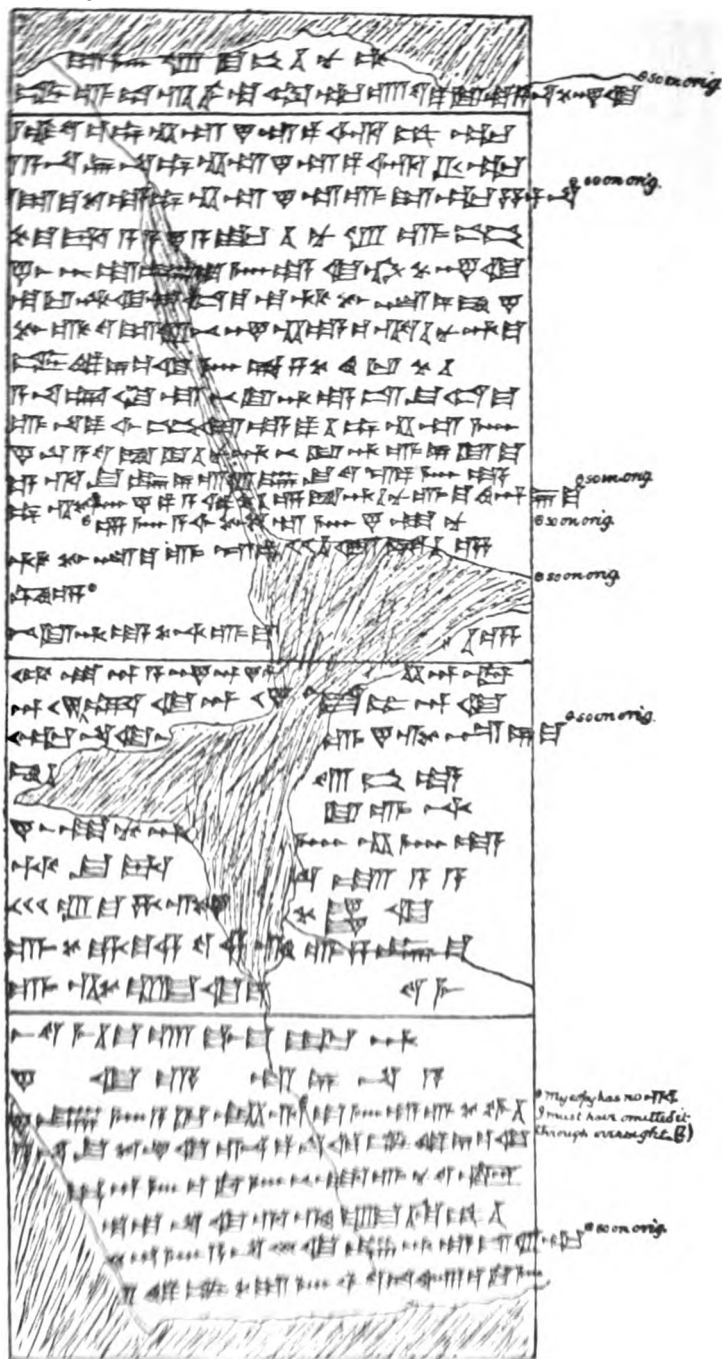
## Cylinder C. Column II.



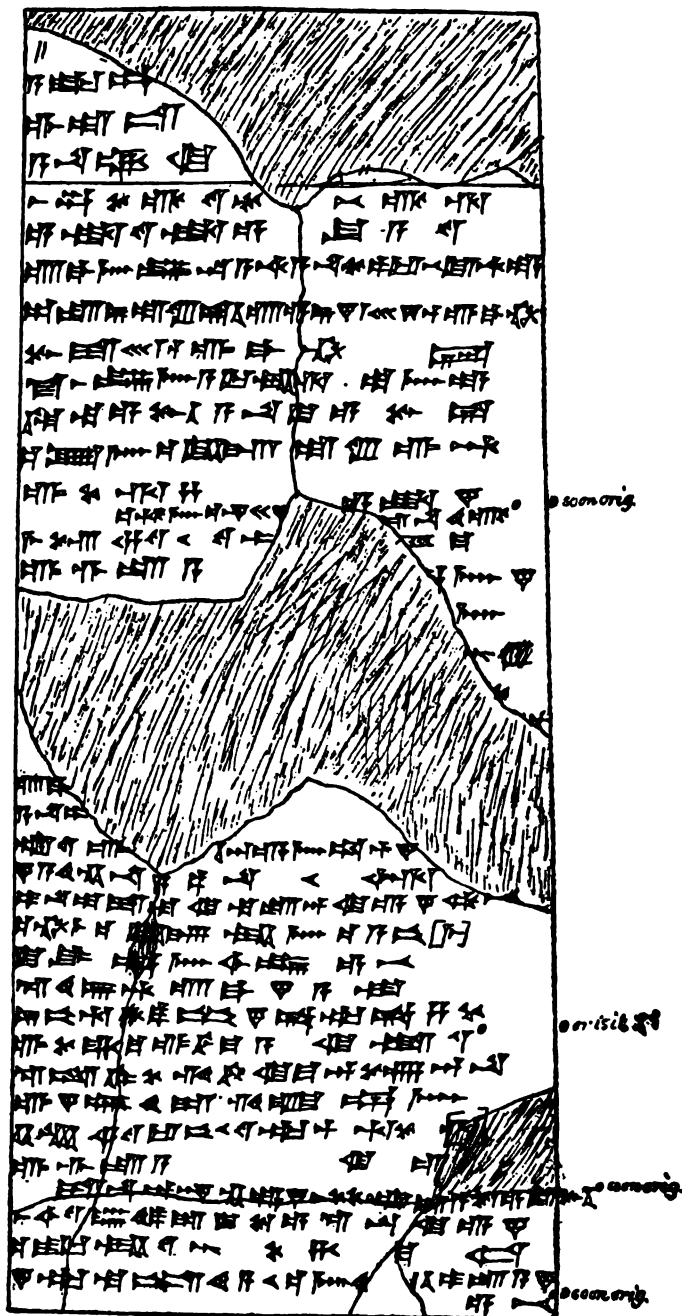
Cylinder C. Column III.



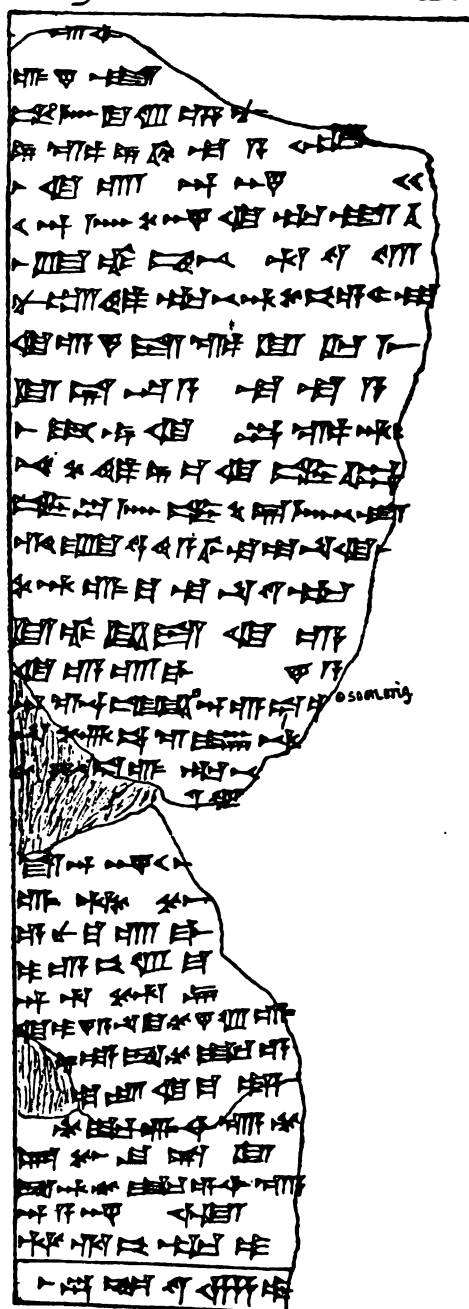
Cylinder C. Column IV.



Cylinder C. Column V.



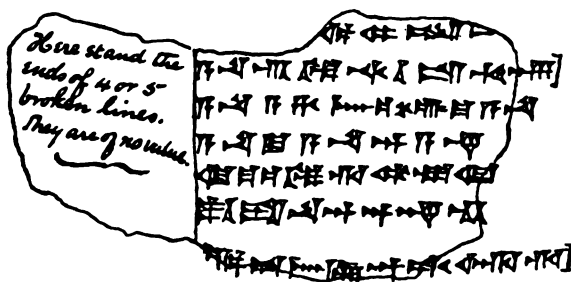
## Cylinder C. Column VI.



7-80-19.



K.1679.





## JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH. D.,

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### IV.

#### MENAHÉM BEN SARUK.

When, in the early part of the fourth century, a Babylonian scholar—in the person of R. Zeïra—was for the first time chosen to preside over one of the Talmudical schools of Palestine, that at Zepphoris, it was an indication that the center of rabbinical learning had begun to shift its position. No longer dependent upon the mother-country for their leaders, the academies of Pumbeditha and Sura from being the protégés became the rivals of Jabnê and Tiberias, and when the sceptre passed entirely out of the hands of Judæa, it was held for successive centuries by Babylon. A change, even more momentous in its character, was foreshadowed by the election, referred to in the last article, of Saadia ben Joseph of Fayûm (in upper Egypt) in the early half of the ninth century, to the charge of the academy at Sura. The light which, for want of fuel, languished in the East and finally died out, shot up into a mighty flame in the West.

Menahem ben Saruk was born in Tortosa about the year 910. At the instance of his patron, Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, the powerful minister of Caliph Abdu-l-rahman III., he removed to Cordova, where he must have established a school in which he expounded his theories of Hebrew grammar. In Cordova he seems to have spent the greater part of his life, and it was there that he wrote his *chef-d'œuvre*, the "Mahberet"<sup>1</sup> or Hebrew Dictionary. In contradistinction to Saadia, whose literary efforts embraced so many fields, Menahem, so far as we know, concentrated his energies on classical Hebrew. Although versed in Talmudic lore, as evidenced by the frequent allusions to the "language of the Mishna" in his dictionary, he probably laid no claims to being an authority in this field. His method of reasoning and his manner of writing bear none of those marks which distinguish writers like the famous Rashi, who are strongly under the influence of what we may call the Talmudic spirit, and it is perhaps not going too far to say that, had he been, in those days, a great Talmudist, he would not have been a great grammarian. It is more than likely that he was the author of other works besides his dictionary. We know of some Hebrew poems that he wrote; but with the exception of a Hebrew letter which is of importance for the light it throws

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<sup>1</sup> Filipowski, "Mahberet Menahem" (London, 1864).

upon a sad incident in his life, the *Maḥberet* is the only production of his pen that has been preserved. Without doubt, however, it was his most important production; for in it he has deposited the rich stores of his knowledge, and takes occasion to amplify and illustrate his favorite theories of Hebrew grammar. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the work, there are two features connected with it which enhance the interest of the book for us. In the first place, it represents the earliest attempt at a complete vocabulary of biblical Hebrew under a systematic arrangement. Partial lexicographical collections had been made previous to Menahem, as for example, by Jehuda Ibn Koreish, who discussed the words that Hebrew possesses in common with Syriac and Arabic, and also such as occur in the Talmudical literature, and by Saadia, who made a list of the *ἀπὸς λεγόμενα* of the Old Testament; but no one had as yet attempted a dictionary—in the full and real sense. Secondly, it is worthy of note that while the predecessors of Menahem wrote, as a general thing, in Arabic, the *Maḥberet* is in Hebrew. This fact is in itself an indication of the revival in the study of Hebrew which had taken place, and becomes all the more significant in view of the other writers of this period who followed Menahem's example. Menahem's style has been called "hard." There is no doubt that it has this defect at times, but the difficulty he encountered in adapting a language that does not lend itself readily to technical and didactical writing to his purposes, fully accounts for this and other deficiencies that may be detected, and if we bear in mind that he is a pioneer opening up a quite untrodden path, the ingenuity with which he coins new words for the numerous technical terms required in a grammatical treatise, must call forth our unqualified admiration. So, to choose a few out of a large number of examples that might be given, from the word *סֹרֵר* which he employs for "root-letter" he forms a verb "to be regarded as a root-letter," or "to enter into a word as a root-letter." In the same way *לְשֵׁרֶת* is used to express that a letter is to be looked upon as an attachment to the root. Again, to distinguish between *Dageš-lene* and *Dageš-forte*, he says that the former is *לְצִחְצוּחַ לְשׁוֹן*, involves simply a distinction in pronunciation, while the other (*לְפִשְׁרֵר דְּבַר*) affects the interpretation of the word. Of terms already in existence as *דָּגֵשׁ*, *רֶפֶה*, *שְׁבֵא*—so is his way of spelling—he invariably forms denominative verbs and verbal derivatives. He speaks of the many *מַעֲלוֹת* uses of the letter Beth. Such formations as *הַמְשָׁלֵשׁ* "composed of three letters," and *הַתְּאַלֵּף* for "to add an Aleph," are very frequent. It is also true that Menahem's style is sometimes involved; he occasionally has a very roundabout way of saying things; but for all that, his Hebrew is, as a general thing, fluent and at times elegant. His introduction is a beautiful specimen of what may well be called pure Hebrew, built as it is on the best models in the Old Testament.

Before proceeding to the dictionary proper, Menahem elucidates the principles which have guided him in his work. He begins with a division, which is,

however, not original with him, of the letters of the alphabet into *litterae radicales* and *serviles*. He combines the former into a mnemonic phrase ספר גזע צדק which might be rendered "sealed is the book of the righteous sprout," meaning, of course, the Old Testament; and the latter he forms into שמלאכתו בינה "whose work is understanding."<sup>1</sup> He then gives illustrations of the way in which the *serviles* combine with the *radicales*, and here at once the peculiarity as well as the great defect of his grammatical system, becomes apparent. Menahem, of course, recognizes the distinction between the root<sup>2</sup>-letters and the *radicales*. The *serviles* can be root-letters as well as *radicales*, and the only advantage which the latter possess over the former is that they are used exclusively as root-letters (אין להם מלאכה) לִסְדּוֹר (זולתי לִסְדּוֹר) whereas the *serviles* may serve either לִשְׂדוֹר or לִשְׂדוֹר. Now, as a means of distinguishing in any given case whether a servile letter forms part of the root or not, Menahem sets up the fundamental principle that no portion of the root of a word can ever *disappear* in the course of inflection. Hence all that is required to detect the root of any word is to pick out those letters which are *constant* through all the changes incident to declension, conjugation, the attachment of prefixes and suffixes, and the like, while any letter which, though it be only in a single form of the verb, falls away, is thereby at once shown to be non-essential to the root of the word. The consequences of such a radical principle will occur to every one. The three classes of verbs פִּעַל, עִיל, פִּעַל the עִיל fall away entirely. A Hebrew root may consequently consist of three, two or even one letter, and the same root may embrace an endless variety of forms and cover the most incongruous significations. The testimony must be awarded to Menahem of being consistent in carrying out this principle. Thus, since the י of יָדַע falls away in the infinitive יָדַעַת, the י cannot be a root-letter in this case and the root therefore consists simply of יָדַע. For a similar reason the root of יָקוּם, since the ו falls away in יָקוּם, is יָקוּם; of גָּלָה, the root is גָּל. The root of נָצַח consists of three letters, because the נ never falls away, but the root of נָפַל according to Menahem is נָפַל, for the נ does not appear in such forms as יָפַל. But the root of פָּלַל is likewise פָּל and the same root also underlies פָּלָה and of course also פָּל. Upon turning to this root in the Maḥberet we actually find no less than four distinct stems united under one head. So under עָן we have עָנָה, עָנָה, עָנָה; under עָם there are confused together עָמָם, עָמָם, עָמָם; and many more might be cited. As already stated, the occurrence of a single form in which, for any reason, an א is dropped, is sufficient to exclude the possibility of regarding the א as one of the root-letters. While,

<sup>1</sup> Donash Ibn Labrat, the subject of our next sketch, has the following combinations דִּוְנָשׁ דִּוְנָשׁ "Donash the Levite," "truth like goodness," and עִיל עִיל the sense of which—if indeed any was intended—is very obscure. Such mnemonic combinations were quite the fashion among the writers of this period, each author generally forming his own.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between stem and root is unknown to the grammarians of the middle ages; the only word they have is שֹׁרֵשׁ.

therefore, in the case of **אמר**, **אפר**, **ארר**, and many others, the **א** belongs to the root for the reason that in none of the derived forms does it fall away, the root of **וַתֵּאָכְנוּ** (Isa. ix. 17) is **כך** because in **נִבְּוִים** (Exod. xiv. 3)—where the **נ** is not radical, since it does not appear in the former word—the **א** has dropped out. Menahem, however, draws a distinction between the pure loss of an **א** in the course of inflection and such instances where the **א** is merely elided. Thus he regards **מִזֵּין** (Prov. xvii. 4), **יְהִל** (Isa. xiii. 20), **מְדִיבֵת** (Lev. xxvi. 16), **וַתּוֹפְרוּ** (1 Sam. xxv. 24) as contracted forms. But in all such cases the **א** must be counted with the root, because the loss is only an *apparent*, and not a real one, accidental, and not incidental. The root, therefore, of **מִזֵּין** is **אזן**, and so of the other examples **אהל**, **ארב**, while that of **וַתּוֹפְרוּ** is **אף** and not **פ** alone, as one might suppose, from the fact that the **א** of **אֶפְתִּי** does not appear in the form. With regard to the **ה** of **אָפַה**, there can, of course, be no doubt, since it regularly falls away in such forms as **יָאֵפוּ**, **תֵּאֵפוּ** and the like. The same distinction applies where the **א** is contracted in the middle of the word, e. g., **צָנָה** (4, 8. 8) the root of which is, notwithstanding the disappearance of the **א**, **צאן**. The **ו** and **י**, finally, follow the analogy of the **א**. So Menahem enumerates **אָמִים** (Job. xxix. 25) not under **אם** but assigns it to a root **אִים**.<sup>1</sup> If, however, an **א**, occupying, according to our ideas, the third place in a trilateral stem, disappears, the loss is regarded by Menahem in every case as a *real* one, and hence the **א** is by that fact debarred from being included in the root. The form **יִמְצֵא**, accordingly, is referred to a root **מִץ**, because in **מִצְתִּי** (Num. xi. 23) the **א** is wanting, and for a similar reason the root of **תִּמְלֵא**—since we have a form, **מִלְתִּי** (Job xxxii. 18)—is **מל**. Here the distinction between accidental and incidental disappearance of a letter is entirely lost sight of, and even the circumstance that the forms **מִצְאֹתִי** and **מִלְאֹתִי** are met with, the former indeed very frequently, did not apparently rouse Menahem to a recognition of the arbitrariness of a method which entailed, as a consequence, the removal of by far the greater number of stems **לֵא** from the language. Indeed an actual count gives only eighteen such stems in the whole *Maḥberet*. But Menahem does not even shrink from drawing the last conclusion to which his theories perforce led him—a conclusion which already to the following generation appeared in so preposterous a light, namely, that the stem (or root) of a word might consist of one single letter. By a strict application of the principle laid down in his preface, he is led through a comparison of the forms **וַתִּהְיוּ אוֹרֵךְ** and **הוֹדוּ** to fix upon the letter **ך** as the root. What else can the root be, since **ך** is the only letter which these forms have in common. By a similar process **י** is made to fig-

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted in this connection that the few stems—in all about twenty-five—with **Wāw** or **Yōdh** as second radical which Menahem admits are all such where these letters **לֹא יֵעָלִי** “do not in any given case fall away” (except by way of contraction) as **לִיל דִּבּוּב** **אֵיל בֵּין**.

ure as the root of הָזָה (Lev. xiv. 27); מָזָה (Num. xix. 21); מָן (Lev. viii. 11); the מ for לְהַטּוֹת (Lam. iii. 35) נָטָה אֶת מִטָּה (Exod. viii. 12), and so on through eighteen of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.<sup>1</sup> In the case of some letters it even happens that several distinct stems are thrown together under one head. The above-referred-to ק, besides doing service for what according to our ideas is a stem הָרָה, also embraces נָדָר and רָדָר; the ב for בָּת (daughter) and תִּיבָב (Jud. v. 25); the צ for מְצָה and צִיץ; and more the like.

The arrangement of the dictionary proper is a very simple one. Each root is discussed in sub-divisions—*maḥlākôt*—according to the various significations met with in the forms derived from the root. So the very first root אָב has six *maḥlākôt* as follows: (a) father, (b) desire, (c) fresh fruit, (d) bags,<sup>2</sup> (e) sorcerer, (f) sorrow—a motley array, but if we bear in mind Menahem's principle whereby אָב includes אָבָה, אוֹב and אָבַב, perfectly intelligible. The confusion brought about by Menahem's unfortunate principle, though sufficiently great, is not as great as we might be led to expect, and this for the reason that very frequently the various significations assigned to a root, correspond to *distinct* stems. Thus in the above-cited example, all the forms of אָבָה "desire" are covered by the second division, those of אוֹב by the fourth and fifth division. On the other hand, in the case of the first division, אָב "father" and אָבִיב which Menahem renders as "first, beginning," two different stems are confused together. Again, under the root פָּל which has six divisions, the stems פָּלָה פָּלַל פָּלֵל פָּלֵל פָּלֵל פָּלֵל, owing to the distinct signification of each, are very easily kept apart, and found to correspond to the first, second, fourth and sixth division respectively, while the third division gives a second meaning of נָפַל "giant" and the fifth a derivative of נָפַל viz.: תַּפְלִיחַ "prayer." At first sight one might be led to suppose from the neatness of such an arrangement that Menahem was well aware of the fact that he was grouping together stems totally distinct from one another, and that when he speaks of biliteral and uniliteral roots, it is merely for the sake of greater convenience that he admits their existence, but upon closer examination of the *Maḥberet*, it becomes very clear that Menahem, sharing herein the views generally held at that period, not only knows of no distinction, as already intimated, between stem and root, but that for him the second ל of פָּלַל, the נ of נָפַל, the ה of פָּלָה and the ו of פָּלֵל were as unessential to the soul of the word as the מ of מַפְלִיחַ or the ו in נָפְלוּ, serving, in fact, a similar purpose as the latter—לְשָׁרֵת and not לְיִסּוּד—affixed and not root-letters.

If, however, we leave the field of theory and turn to the practical interpretation of the many words, phrases and sentences quoted by Menahem in his diction-

<sup>1</sup> A list of the uniliteral roots is given on pp. 40-41 of Filipowaki's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Menahem's interpretation כְּאֵבֹת חֲרָשִׁים (Job. xxxii. 19).

ary, we shall find a great deal to admire and much that may still be of service in these days of advanced scholarship. His knowledge of Hebrew is as exact as it is comprehensive; he seems to have the entire Old Testament at his finger's ends, as evidenced by the copious examples he puts forth. His explanations are frequently ingenious without overstepping the bounds of sober conjecture; he has a keen perception for the niceties of Hebrew diction, which betrays itself in the minute discussions into which he at times enters, as well as in the briefer remarks profusely scattered throughout the work. He has above all that *feeling* for language, equivalent almost to a linguistic instinct, which is as essential to the philologist as a good ear to a musician. A few quotations from the dictionary, in further illustration of his methods and his characteristics, may fittingly conclude this sketch.

**אַרְיֵל**. After giving it as his opinion that **אַרְיֵלִים** (Isa. xxxiii. 7), **אַרְיֵל** (Isa. xxix. 1, 2) and **וְהָרְיָאֵל** (Ezek. xliii. 15) are one and the same word, he continues as follows:

"Ari'el is the name of the altar; and the sense of **אַרְיֵלִים צִעְקוּ חוּצָה** (Isa. xxxiii. 7) is that, at the destruction of the altar called Ari'el, they cry and they weep for it; they bewail their sanctuary, they lament their Ari'el, they mourn for their altar. The objection which might be raised against this interpretation, that the verbs **צִעְקוּ** and **בָּכוּ** cannot take a direct object, but require the intervention of the preposition **עַל**, is groundless; for Gen. xxxvii. 35, we have **וַיִּבְכּוּ אֹתוֹ**, and similarly **וַיִּבְכּוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-מֹשֶׁה אָבִיו** (Deut. xxxiv. 8), **וַיִּבְכּוּ אֶת-** (Num. xx. 29); and the further objection that these verbs require at least an **אֵת** before their object also falls away in view of such passages as **לְסַפֵּר לְשָׂרָה וּלְבַכְתָּהּ** (Gen. xxiii. 2), and **וַיִּזְעַקוּהָ** (Neh. ix. 28).

"Some scholars, however, are of the opinion that **אַרְיֵלִים** is a contraction for **אַרְאֵה-לֵם** ('I appeared unto them'). Now I am well aware that there are quite a number of such instances of two words being contracted into one to be met with in Hebrew; as **נָתַתְּנִי** (Isa. xv. 19) which stands for **נָתַתְּ לִי** ('thou hast given to me'), **יִצְאֵנִי** (Jer. x. 20) for **יִצְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי**; **אֶחָדְךָ** (Job xv. 17) for **אֶחָדְךָ לְךָ** ('I will relate to you'); **וַיִּזְעַקוּהָ** (Neh. ix. 28) for **וַיִּזְעַקוּ לְךָ**; **דָּבָרוּ** (Gen. xxxvii. 4) for **דָּבַר לוֹ**; **בָּשָׁל לָהֶם** (1 Kgs. xix. 21) for **בָּשָׁל לָהֶם**; **אֶנְיִדְנוּ** (Job xxxi. 37) for **אֶנְיִד לוֹ**; **חָנָה לְךָ** (Ps. liii. 6) for **חָנָה לְךָ** ('encamping against thee'); **יִבְאוּנִי** (Ps. cxix. 77) for **יִבְאוּ אֵלַי**, and many more the like. But **אַרְיֵלִים** is certainly not of their number; for apart from the fact that in this case we would naturally expect a vocalization like **אַרְיֵלִים**,<sup>2</sup> an examination of

<sup>1</sup> **צָחַק** and **זָעַק** being synonyms.

<sup>2</sup> The passive of **רָאָה**, and not **אַרְאֵלִים**, which can, at the most, be an abbreviation of **אַרְאֵה לֵם**, the active of the verb.

the other passages where the passive of this verb is used with reference to the 'appearance' of the Eternal (Exod. iii. 2; Lev. ix. 23; Mal. iii. 2), proves that a construction like this is inadmissible." Menahem then enters upon a refutation of a third opinion, according to which אֵל־אֵל is itself compounded of two words and compared with בְּלִימָה (Job xxvi. 7), which some explain as though composed of בְּלִי and מָה "without anything;" לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת (Cant. iv. 4) equal to תַּל and פִּיּוֹת "mound of edges" (?); and דֶּרְאֹן (Isa. lxvi. 24), decomposed similarly into דֶּר and אֹן "habitation of sorrow." Menahem regards such explanations as a mere idle play on words, and denies absolutely the possibility of compounding words in this way in Hebrew. By a reference to לְבָלִים (Exod. xxxii. 9) he shows that בְּלִימָה is a single word from a stem בָּלַם, and דֶּרְאֹן is also one word, synonymous with מִשְׁאֹת "ruins," while תַּלְפִּיּוֹת is a contraction from תַּלְפִּיּוֹת, as מִלְפָּנוּ (Job xxxv. 11) from מִאֲלָפָנוּ, going back to a stem אָלַף, and here used in the sense of "instruction" or "guidance." The tower of David to which the poet compares the neck of his beloved, was, it is natural to suppose, very high, so that it could be seen afar off and serve as a guide for travelers and wayfarers. Hence it is appropriately described as בְּנֵי לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת "built for teaching," i. e., for directing "the dwellers of the land, the villagers and the wanderers."

Consistent with himself, Menahem, rejecting the Talmudical explanation of the puzzling אֲבָרָךְ (Gen. xli. 43), which makes the word a compound of אָב and רָךְ "merciful father," takes it as an imperative form of בָּרַךְ in the sense of "bend the knee." With "abarakku," in Assyrian, the attempt to trace the word to Egyptian origin, as is still done in the eighth edition of Gesenius, must of course be abandoned; and it may yet be that scholars, especially those who, like Delitzsch, declare "abarakku" to be a good Semitic word, will go back to the explanation given by Menahem and, following him, by other writers of this and succeeding periods.

Incidental to a discussion of the above-referred-to כְּאֹבֹת חֲדָשִׁים יִבְקַע (Job xxxii. 19), Menahem calls attention to the *parallelismus membrorum* peculiar to Hebrew poetry and its value in interpreting words that might otherwise be obscure. "The half of the verse," he says, "explains the other half, since the latter but repeats the sense of the former." He quotes the following as examples: Deut. xxxii. 2; Job xxxix. 15; Cant. iv. 12; Isa. viii. 13; xxvi. 6; xxviii. 23; xxxi. 5; xxxiii. 21; xliii. 16; Hos. viii. 13; Hab. i. 15. By application of the same principle he concludes that אֹבֹת in the above passage must mean "bags of wine."

Three times<sup>1</sup> Menahem quotes opinions of Jehuda Ibn Koreish only to refute them. Of these, the most interesting is the one in reference to the phrase וְאֲנִי כְּבֶשֶׁת אֱלֹהִים יוֹבֵל לְטוֹבוֹ (Jer. xi. 19). Menahem renders it "and I am

<sup>1</sup> אֵלֶּף, אֵתָן, אֵכָח.

like a great lamb brought to the slaughter." "But," he continues, "Jehuda ben Koreish explains כבש אלוף as though it were כבש ואלוף and translates 'like a lamb and ox.' This necessitates the addition of a ך before the second word, and since it is identical, according to Koreish's opinion, with שׁנר אלוף (Deut. vii. 13), we would also have to insert a ך in the latter word between the ל and the ך. Now we have no right whatever to do this, and must content ourselves with explaining words as they stand. Nor can it be claimed that the ך is here omitted, as is the case in ארם פטרה וברקת (Exod. xxviii. 17), ראובן שמעון לוי ויהודה (Exod. i. 2), and the like; for in all these instances—Menahem quotes also Exod. xxvii. 19; xxxix. 13; Deut. xxvii. 19—there is always one ך at the end of the series, and, besides, even this is only permissible where there are at least *three* objects in juxtaposition, but never where there are only two. Hence the only possible translation of כבש אלוף is "great lamb." When treating of Menahem's great opponent, Donash ben Labrat,\* we shall have occasion to refer to the reply which the latter makes in defense of Koreish.

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\* In the next number of HEBRAICA.



## SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON TIKKUN SOPHERIM.

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The July (1887) number of *HEBRAICA* contains an important article on **תקן סופרים** *correction or emendation of the scribes*, by Rev. Mr. Crane, of Princeton, N. J. The number of passages in the Hebrew Bible said to have been corrected by the scribes is eighteen, running from Genesis to Malachi.

The author gives both what is stated to have been the original text of these passages, and also the present Massoretic reading, upon which he comments, and reaches the following conclusion: "If it be proven that the scribes have, in truth, made one single correction in the original writings in the places designated as *Tikkun Sopherim*, then their whole line of defense must fall to the ground; for it is no longer entitled to the least credence, and the value of each *Tikkun* must be determined solely by the weight of evidence in its favor, in each individual case, totally irrespective of any statements or explanations handed down by personally interested scribes. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is a well-established principle of legal evidence for determining the credibility of witnesses, and it is equally applicable to the case in hand."

This bears hard on the fidelity of the scribes, and if accepted in all its breadth, it will throw great doubt on the correctness of the Massoretic text, and, indeed, on the Old Testament text in general, as nobody, in that case, can tell how many passages the scribes have altered. We shall give the facts of the case as far as we know them, and then what seem to be the inferences to be drawn from them.

The oldest reference made to passages of the Old Testament as corrected by the scribes, occurs in the *Mechilta*, a commentary embracing a number of chapters of the Book of Exodus, written down in Hebrew in the *first half of the third century*.<sup>1</sup> The passages are found on Exod. xv. 7, and are only eleven in number, in the following order: (1) Zech. ii. 12 (A. V. 8); (2) Mal. i. 13; (3) 1 Sam. iii. 13; (4) Job vii. 20; (5) Hab. i. 12; (6) Jer. ii. 11; (7) Ps. cvi. 20; (8) Num. xi. 15; (9) 2 Sam. xx. 1; (10) Ezek. viii. 17; (11) Num. xii. 12.<sup>2</sup> Another Jewish work, the *Jalkut*, belonging to the *thirteenth century*, gives the same emended passages except number 4 (Job. vii. 20). The *Sifre*, a Jewish commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, written in the *third century*, gives only *seven* passages as corrected

<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned by Dr. Weber ("System der Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.," Leipzig, 1880), and about the date assigned to it by Dr. Zuns ("Gottesdienst Vorträge der Juden," pp. 46, 7).

<sup>2</sup> The passages are given by Rabbi Dr. Abraham Geiger ("Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," Breslau, 1867, p. 100). This is the date assigned by Dr. Weber ("Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.," Leipzig, 1880, p. 81). In Abraham Geiger, p. 809.

by the scribes, viz., numbers 1, 4, 10, 5, 7 and 11 of the *Mechilta*, without stating what the original reading was. In the *Tanchuma*, a Jewish commentary on the Pentateuch, written in the *ninth*<sup>1</sup> century, the number of the passages stated to have been corrected by the scribes, is considerably enlarged. In Geiger's list we find five emended passages more than we have in the *Mechilta*, making sixteen. These five passages are: Hosea. iv. 7; Job xxxii. 8; Gen. xviii. 22; Lam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. xvi. 12. The Talmudists, according to Dr. Geiger, say but little respecting these emended passages. The reason he assigns is, that the corrected text had not yet obtained authority. In the *Tractat Sopherim*<sup>2</sup> there is no mention of these passages. "On the contrary, the oldest Massora known to us, found in the manuscript of Odessa of the year 916, contains them. Here the expression Tikkun Sopherim 'correction of the scribes' has become fixed, and the number of passages is definitely given as eighteen. These eighteen passages, which are indicated merely through single words and with which the original reading is not given, correspond for the most part with those of *Tanchuma*, only three of them being wanting, namely, Hosea iv. 7; Lam. iii. 20 and 2 Sam. xvi. 12. On the other hand, one number which contains the passage, 1 Kgs. xii. 16, with its parallel passage, 2 Chron. x. 16, is reckoned as four, as each of them contains two corrections, and two are added, namely, Mal. i. 12, indicated by מחללים, and III. 8 or 9 by קובעים. Finally, the Massora as we read it in our editions, both at the beginning of Numbers and on Ps. cvi. 20, gives also the number of eighteen words which have been corrected by the scribes."<sup>3</sup>

Here the question arises, *Who* were the scribes that corrected the passages? The *Tanchuma* states that it was done by the men of the *Great Synagogue*, that is, a council of scribes in Jerusalem, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, the period of whose activity extended from Ezra to the death of the high priest Simon (B. C. 196), a period of about two hundred and fifty years.<sup>4</sup> But it will be remembered that the *Tanchuma*, named from its author, was written in the *ninth* century after Christ, more than a thousand years after the close of the Great Synagogue that is said to have made the changes in the original readings of certain texts. Such a late statement does not appear to us to be worth much. The statement of a Christian writer of the eleventh or twelfth century respecting original readings of passages in the gospels or changes that were made in the *second* century would have but little weight with us. Gutbir inserted in his edition of the Peshitto Syriac New Testament (Hamburg, 1664) the passage containing the three heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7), and remarks in his critical notes: "Since it is known [sic] that the Arians spared in this place neither the Greek text itself, nor the oriental versions, we have inserted this verse, wanting in other

<sup>1</sup> The date given by Dr. Zunz ("Gottesdienst Vorträge der Juden," p. 237).

<sup>2</sup> Written about the *ninth* century it would seem. Dr. Zunz, p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," by Rabbi Abraham Geiger, pp. 311, 312.

<sup>4</sup> See Talmud *Baba Batra*, and Fürst ("Ueber den Kanon," pp. 21-23).

editions, from the notes of Tremellius." Does any biblical scholar now believe that the original epistle of John contained that verse? We at least hope not. Assertions of this kind are to be received with great caution. Now in regard to the number of the passages of the Old Testament said to have been corrected, there is no uniformity of statement, as we have already seen. Nor in the passage from the *Mechilta* quoted by Geiger, is there any mention made of corrections by the Great Synagogue.

Let us now look at the passages said by *Tanchuma* to have been corrected by the Great Synagogue, in the light of the history of the text in those passages, to ascertain, if possible, whether the original text was in fact changed. We begin with Gen. XVIII. 22, "And Abraham was still standing before Yahweh." The original reading is stated to have been, "Yahweh was still standing before Abraham." But we have proof that our present reading goes back to B. C. 330. For the Samaritan Pentateuch has the same order as the Massoretic text, **ואברהם** **לפני יהוה**..... The LXX. has the same, *Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἔτι ἦν ἑστῆς ἐναντίον Κυρίου*. The Targum of Onkelos has the same arrangement, **ואברהם קדם**.....; also the Peshitto Syriac contains the same position, **ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܐ**..... In the *Beresith Rabba*, a commentary on Genesis written in the sixth<sup>1</sup> century, we have the following respecting this passage: "And they went towards Sodom; but Abraham still stood before the Eternal. The latter is, according to R. Simon, a correction of the scribes; (for it cannot be well supposed) that the Shekinah waited for Abraham."<sup>2</sup> This is the first reference to a correction of this text, and it rests on the statement of R. Simon, who, according to Dr. Zunz,<sup>3</sup> lived about A. D. 166, that is about *three hundred and fifty* years after the close of the Great Synagogue; so that, if the text in Genesis was corrected by these men, it must have been done before B. C. 330,<sup>4</sup> the latest date to which we can assign the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Hebrew manuscripts exhibit no variation of text in the passage.<sup>5</sup>

The next passage in order is Num. XI. 15, "And let me not see *my wretchedness*" (**ברעתי**, emended, it is said, for **ברעתך** *thy evil*). But our present reading is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has **ברעתי**; the LXX., which has *τὴν κακωσίν μου*; the Peshitto Syriac, which reads **ܠܝ ܕܡܝܪܬܝܝܢ** *my wretchedness*; and Onkelos, who renders it **בבשתי** *my misery*. No Hebrew MS. gives a different reading of the word.<sup>6</sup> In Num. XII. 12, we have, "Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb." In this passage it is alleged that **אמו** *his mother* has been substituted

<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned to it by Dr. Weber, "Alteyn. Paläst. Theol.," p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Aug. Wünsche's German translation of "Beresith Rabba," p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> "Gottesdienst Vorträge," p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> This is the date assigned to it by De Wette, who is skeptical enough on all these points.

<sup>5</sup> This is manifest from Doederlein's edition of the Hebrew Bible, accompanied with a large collection of readings from the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi, Leipzig, 1793.

<sup>6</sup> So far at least as noticed in Doederlein's edition.

for **אִמֵּנוּ** *our mother*; and **בִּשְׂרוֹ** *his flesh*, for **בִּשְׂרֵנוּ** *our flesh*. But here again our Massoretic text is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, and substantially by the LXX., which has “her flesh,” and “womb of mother,” where “her” must be supplied from the context. The Peshitto Syriac has “his mother” and “his flesh.” Here one of Kennicott’s MSS. has **אִמֵּנוּ**, and another, **אִמֵּינוּ**; and two have **בִּשְׂרֵנוּ**, showing that there were different readings of the text in early times. The number of alleged corrections in the Pentateuch—by counting Num. xii. 12, as two—is four; and we see no good reason to believe that our Massoretic text does not give us the original reading.

The next alleged correction in order in the Hebrew Bible, is 1 Sam. iii. 13, the substitution of **לָהֶם** for **לִי**, making the passage read that the sons of Eli “cursed themselves” (i. e., “brought a curse upon themselves”), instead of “cursing me” (that is, God). Here the LXX. reads *κακολογούντες θεόν reviling God*. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel agrees very well with the Hebrew text, while the Peshitto Syriac has, “His sons were treating with contempt the people” (**ܠܚܡܢܐ**). One of Kennicott’s MSS. reads **לִי** *me*, instead of **לָהֶם** *them*. The original reading here seems to be very doubtful. In the account of the wicked deeds of the sons of Eli, no mention is made of direct blasphemy. We see no good reason to think that the scribes would have changed **לִי** to **לָהֶם** in order to mitigate the crime of Eli’s sons.

“It may be that Yahweh will look upon my affliction” (**בְּעֵינִי**, K·ri), 2 Sam. xvi. 12. Buxtorf remarks that “the Massorah in both places<sup>1</sup> quotes this passage; it is also reviewed in the book *Tanchuma*.....but in what word the correction consists they do not explain. The commentators also here make no mention of a correction,”<sup>2</sup> etc. Now if the original reading was, “It may be that Yahweh will look with *his eye* (**בְּעֵינֵי**) and requite” etc., it is strange that there is in the whole Hebrew Bible no other similar construction as seeing *with* (one) *eye*; but we find the phrase, “With thine eyes (**בְּעֵינֶיךָ**) shalt thou behold” (Ps. xci. 8). And the reading K·thibh **בְּעֵינִי** after **רָאָה** is similar to what we find in Gen. xxix. 32, and also in other places, in which **כִּ** is prefixed to a noun after this verb. If we take the Massoretic reading **בְּעֵינִי** (K·thibh) and render it “upon my misery,” giving to **עָן** the same sense which Gesenius gives the word in Ps. xxxi. 11, which the context absolutely requires, we shall have no difficulty. The LXX. and the Peshitto Syriac agree well with this rendering, the former having *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει*, and the latter, **ܥܡܝܢܐ** *upon my humiliation*. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel has “tears of my eye.” In this passage the Hebrew MSS. give a variety of readings both as K·thibh and K·ri.

“To your tents, O Israel; now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto *their tents*” (1 Kgs. xii. 16). Here the Massoretic text has **לְאַהֲלֵיךְ**

<sup>1</sup> That is where the lists of the words are given.

<sup>2</sup> Chal. Rab. Tal. Lex., col. 2631.

and אֱהָלָיו, *to thy tents* and *to his (their) tents*, said to have been corrected for לֵאלֹהֵיו and לֵאלֹהֵיךְ, *to thy gods* and *to his (their) gods*. In respect to these two words, the Hebrew MSS. present no variation from the Massoretic text. The LXX. reads, "To thy tents," and "to his tents." The Peshitto Syriac has, "*To thy tents. . . . and every one went away to his own town or village* (ܬܠܡܝܬܐ). The Targum, "*To thy village. . . . and to his village.*" The parallel passage to this is found in 2 Chron. x. 16, in which the reading is the same. It seems to me in the highest degree probable that our Massoretic text gives the original reading; for what sense would there be in the children of Israel exhorting each other to abandon Rehoboam and return to their gods? Abandoning Rehoboam did not necessarily imply a revolt from the true God. But to what gods were they to return? Jeroboam had not yet set up the calf (Apis) worship in Bethel and in Dan. Or was the author of Kings guilty of an anachronism which the scribes kindly corrected through an especial affection for the idolatrous ten tribes and apostates from the temple worship in Jerusalem? Not very likely.

"And, lo, they put the branch to their nose" (Ezek. viii. 17). On this passage Gesenius remarks, under the word זְמֹרֶה, "In allusion to the custom of the Persians (Parsees), who adore the rising sun, holding in their left hand a bundle of twigs called 'Barsom.'" The context explains the matter. Ezekiel had seen in vision, in the Lord's house, twenty-five men with their backs turned towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east, and they worshiped the sun towards the east. Then the Lord commented on the doings of these men, and said, "And, lo, they put the branch to their nose." As these worshipers of the sun had turned their backs upon the temple of Yahweh, and were adoring the heavenly luminary, how could they be thrusting their myrtle twigs under the nose of Yahweh? In this passage the LXX. expresses the sense in a general way: Ἰδοὺ αὐτοὶ ὡς μυκτερίζοντες. In the Peshitto Syriac the אָפֶם of the Hebrew text is represented by "their nostrils;" and in the Targum, by "their nose." Two of Kennicott's MSS. read אָפֶם.

"My people have changed *their glory* (כְּבוֹדִי) for that which doth not profit" (Jer. ii. 11). Here it is alleged the original was כְּבוֹדִי *my glory*. But the context does not suit this latter reading. The statement of the Massoretic text that God's people had exchanged their glory, i. e., God, honor and prosperity, for that which profiteth not—the idolatrous worship, with its bad consequences—makes good sense. The LXX. has τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. The Peshitto Syriac, "My people have changed their honor for that which is without profit." The Targum has, "My people have left my service in which I was bringing them honor," etc. One of Kennicott's MSS. has כְּבוֹדִי.

"As they were increased, so they sinned against me; therefore will I change *their glory* into shame" (Hosea iv. 7). Here the original כְּבוֹדִי *my glory* is said to have been altered to the present reading כְּבוֹדֶם *their glory*. But the context

shows that our present reading is correct; and it is very unlikely that God would say, "I will change my glory into shame." The LXX. agrees with the Massoretic text, and the Peshitto Syriac has, "They have turned their honor into shame," which is also the reading of the Targum.

"Art thou not from everlasting, O LORD, my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die" (Hab. i. 12). According to *Tanchuma*, as given both by Rabbi Levy<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Geiger,<sup>2</sup> the original reading of **לֹא נָמוּת** "we shall not die" was **לֹא יָמוּת** "he will not die." The LXX. reads, *οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν*. The Peshitto reads, "That we may not die<sup>3</sup> thou art the Lord;" that is, "thou art the Lord, so that we shall not die." "No codex has the reading **תָּמוּת**"<sup>4</sup> (thou shalt die), that is, **לֹא תָמוּת**. The Massoretic reading makes good sense, "Because thou art the eternal and holy God, we shall be saved." Quite in the same line is the language of Christ, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

"For thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you; for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye," **עֵינִי** (Zech. ii. 8), said to have been corrected from **עֵינִי** *my eye*. But in both readings the reference is to the divine eye, so that the anthropomorphism is not avoided. The LXX. and the Peshitto Syriac have "his eye." Two of Kennicott's MSS. read **עֵינִי** *my eye*.

"Ye said also, Behold, what a weariness is it! and ye have snuffed at (contemned) it, saith the Lord of hosts" (Mal. i. 18). In this passage it is said that **אֶתִּי** *me* has been changed into **אֹתוֹ** *it*, after "ye have snuffed at." We, however, see nothing incongruous in our Massoretic text. In the previous verse the Israelites are charged with profaning the name of the LORD by saying that the table (the altar) of Yahweh is polluted, and the fruit thereof, even his meat, is contemptible, and ye have contemned it, (that is, the altar). The LXX. has "I have blown them away," and the Peshitto Syriac, "thou hast blown upon it."<sup>5</sup>

"Why hast thou set me as a mark against thee so that I am a burden to myself" (**עָלַי**), said to have been changed from **עָלֶיךָ** *to thee*, i. e., *a burden to thee* (Job. vii. 20). But the Massoretic reading also in this passage, makes good sense and fits the context. The last part may be rendered, "Why hast thou (God) made me a mark (subject of attack) for thyself so that I am a burden to myself?" The LXX. and the Syriac read, "I am a burden to myself."

"They found no answer, and yet had condemned Job" (Job xxxii. 8). In this passage it is alleged that the original was **הָאֱלֹהִים** which was changed to

<sup>1</sup> "Chaldäisches Wörterbuch," vol. II., p. 554.

<sup>2</sup> "Urschrift und Uebersetz.," p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> The Peshitto has **لَمْ يَمُتْ** evidently a typographical error for **لَمْ يَمُتْ** "n'muth."

<sup>4</sup> Doederlein's ed. Heb. Bib., with readings.

<sup>5</sup> The unpointed text **הִפְחוּתָם** seems to have led astray both the LXX. and the Syriac translators. The first takes it as first person singular, and the latter as second singular, with a pronominal affix.

אִיוֹב and that the text read, "They condemned God." But the context certainly requires the Massoretic reading: "They had condemned Job," and this is the sense both of the LXX. and the Syriac, and the Hebrew MSS. show no deviation from the Massoretic text.

"Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass," (Ps. cvi. 20). In this passage, it is alleged that the original *his glory* כְּבוֹדוֹ has been changed into כְּבוֹדָם *their glory*. It is true that the worshipers of the golden calf did—so far as men could—change the glory of God into the likeness of an ox, and the Psalmist might have so expressed it, just as Paul says respecting the heathen that they "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man," etc. (Rom. i. 23). But the Psalmist may have preferred a less direct statement and have written "their glory (i. e. the glorious object of their worship) they turned into the likeness of an ox." In Gen. xxxi. 53 we have an instance of this indirect method of statement: "And Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac," that is the Almighty whom Isaac feared. But why should we suppose that the scribes changed the text? If they had scruples about the statement that the glory of God had been turned into the likeness of an ox, why might not the Psalmist have had similar scruples? Both the LXX. and the Syriac have "their glory," from which there is no deviation in the Hebrew MSS.

"My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me" (Lam. iii. 20). The change said to have been made in this passage is the substitution of נַפְשִׁי for נַפְשִׁךָ that is in *my soul* (self) instead of *thyself*. This presupposes that the passage originally had an entirely different meaning from that given in the English Version. "Remember (me) and bow *thyself* down to me," would be the rendering. The LXX. reads: καταδολεσχῆσαι ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μου, which favors the Massoretic text. The Peshitto Syriac translates it: "Renew (וַעֲלֵל) my soul in me," which presupposes the Massoretic reading in the word under discussion. The Hebrew MSS. give no variation of reading respecting the word. It is not likely that the verb שָׁוָה in the Hyph'il form, with a transitive meaning, was used by Jeremiah to express God's *bowing himself down*. Besides, in the present passage, the word occurs but twice in the Hebrew Bible, viz., in "her house *sinks down* into death" (Prov. ii. 18); and in "our soul is *bowed down* in the dust" (Ps. xlv. 25). When God is called upon to hearken to men's wants, the language is, "Incline thine ear to me," Pss. xvii. 6; xxxi. 3, etc., or "bow the heavens," etc. The Hyph'il of נָטָה is used in these passages. No good reason can be assigned for the rejection of the Massoretic reading.

We conclude with the following reflections upon the whole subject:

1. The statement that the scribes, that is, the men of the Great Synagogue (B. C. 444-196), made changes in the original text to remove anthropomorphisms or anthropopathisms, or any unseemly expressions, is not found until *three hun-*

*dred and fifty years after the Great Synagogue.* The list is not uniform, and the entire number, eighteen, is not given until about *eleven hundred years* after the close of this famous council of Jewish scholars. Besides this, the statement is too indefinite. No unprejudiced Christian scholar would consider statements of a similar character in reference to changes in the New Testament, of any value.

Can any one believe that the men of the Great Council—said to be one hundred and twenty in number—deliberately voted to change what they believed Moses wrote? Their reverence for the *Torah* would have prevented them from altering any well-established reading. Their motto was "Put a hedge about the Law and make disciples." They were traditionists. Nor do we think they would have changed the language of the prophets in whose inspiration they believed. Various readings, no doubt, existed in different MSS. of the Hebrew Bible long before the time of Christ, and the School of Ezra may have labored in settling the Old Testament text. But were they less scrupulous than their later disciples, the Massorites, who would not correct manifest errors in the text, but simply indicated the corrections by marginal notes? The men of the Great Synagogue and their followers in the subsequent ages, may have made some mistakes, it is true, in their textual criticism.

Is there any good reason to believe that the Christians of antiquity changed any part of what they believed to be the original text of the New Testament? Have the Mohammedans altered their Qoran?

These remarks will have but little weight with those critics who believe that Ezra wrote a part of the Pentateuch, and that Deuteronomy was forged in the name of Moses, seven or eight centuries after that lawgiver; and that various documents entering into the Pentateuch were worked over in the time of Ezra, or at an earlier period. In that case, why did they not throw out the passage in the Pentateuch which represents Aaron, their first great highpriest, as making a golden calf for idolatrous worship? This fact in Aaron's history, gave the old masters in Israel the greatest amount of trouble.<sup>1</sup> Neither have the scribes expunged from the text the blunder of Moses, nor the crimes of David and Solomon, nor the crimes and idolatries of the Israelitish people in general. Is there any other history in the world that can be compared in point of fidelity to that in the Bible, in which the vices and crimes of the people are so faithfully described by the pen of their own historians and so carefully preserved in their archives to their own infamy? Well did Sir Isaac Newton remark that he found more sure marks of truth in the Bible than in any profane book whatever.

2. Passages of an anthropomorphic and of an anthropopathic character in the Hebrew Bible have certainly been allowed by the scribes to stand. Thus we have, "They heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden" (Gen. iii. 8); "He (God) kept him as the apple of his (God's) eye" (Deut. xxxii. 10); "He

<sup>1</sup> See Weber's "System Altz. Paläst. Theol.," pp. 264-6.



runneth upon him, even on his neck, upon the thick bosses of (the Almighty's) buckler" (Job xv. 26); "And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart" (Gen vi. 6). If such expressions as these, and others that might be named, the scribes have allowed to stand, it is not likely that they would have modified others that were not more offensive.

3. The principle, *false in one, false in all*, cannot be safely applied, either in regard to human testimony or written documents. A witness may be unreliable in matters in which the truth militates against his own interests, while in other cases in which his self-interest is not affected, his testimony may be believed. A man may be insane on one subject and perfectly sane on all others. So far as pertains to the Old Testament scribes, it seems clear that they were too conscientious to make changes that would diminish Israel's disgrace or augment his honor. In matters pertaining to the Deity, a zeal for his glory might be supposed to lead them to suppress what they thought derogatory to his character in the representations of his actions given in Hebrew history. But we see no proof that anything of the kind was ever done. *Pious* fraud had no place among the ancient Hebrews.

## EGYPTIAN NOTES.

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### I. BASHMURIC.

The three different dialects of the Coptic language are called the Saidic, the Memphitic and the Bashmuric. The Saidic, as the name indicates, was the dialect of Upper or Southern Egypt. The Memphitic, as the name also indicates, was the dialect of the district of Memphis. The Bashmuric dialect was the dialect of the Delta, especially the Eastern Delta. But the origin of the term *Bashmuric* is not so evident as the names in the other two cases. There is no place in the Delta by the name of Bashmur, or anything like it, to account for the origin of Bashmuric as applied to this dialect of the Coptic. This has been investigated and tested. The following is proposed, however, as furnishing perhaps a more satisfactory derivation and explanation of the term Bashmuric.

Pass along the Delta in early spring, or when vegetation has nicely started. The owners of flocks and herds are going forth with them. Inquire of them where they are taking their flocks and herds. They reply نَبَشْمُرُهُمْ = "Nabash-murahum;" that is, *to pasture them*. The نَ = "na," is the Arabic prefix for the first person plural. The هُمْ = "hum," is the Arabic suffix for the third person plural. This leaves the word بَشْمُر = "Bashmur." The بَ = "ba," is the Bashmuric or Coptic definite article ΠΙ or Π. We have left, then, the noun شَمَر = "shamar," which means *pasture, shepherding place*. The word is still applied to the pasturing fields and plains of the Eastern Delta to-day. This throws light upon the origin of the shepherds and inhabitants of the Eastern Delta. They were descendants of the Hyksos, the Arabian shepherd kings. Confirmatory of this we find far more Semitic words in the Bashmuric than in the other Coptic dialects. Does not the Coptic and Arabic شَمَر = "shamar," *to pasture, shepherd*, give also some added light and force to the corresponding Hebrew שָׁמַר ?

## II. THE EGYPTIAN NAME OF JOSEPH.

The Egyptian name given to Joseph by Pharaoh, as recorded in Gen. xli. 45, has received the following transliterations and interpretations:—

*Hebrew*: סַפְנַת פַּאנָאחַ = "Safnath Paanaah."

*Septuagint*: Σονθομφανήχ = "Psonthomphanek."

*Vulgate*: "Salvator Mundi Savior of the World." So others.

*Coptic*:  = "Psonthom Phanek."

*Targum, Syriac, and Others*: "A Revealer of Secrets."

*Gesenius*: "The Supporter or Preserver of the Age."

*Others*: "The Food of Life," or "of the Living."

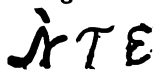
*Renouf and Budge*: "t'eft-ent-pa-anχ" = "Store-house of the House of Life."

*Brugsch*: "Governor of the District of the Place of Life."

For convenience sake we may begin at the end of the name, going backwards.

1st. "Paanχ." As the Hieroglyphic and Coptic show, and as nearly all are agreed, the last or second part of Joseph's name, סַפְנַת, was, in the old Egyptian, "pa anχ." "Pa," as shown by the Coptic, is here the masculine definite article "the," the Coptic ΠΙ or Π. "Anχ" is "life" or "living one." Brugsch, in this connection, in his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. II., p. 265, makes it "life." But in *Records of the Past*, Brugsch translates, in a Delta inscription of the time of the Hebrews, the same expression "pa anχ," as "the Living One," and refers it to God. And so, with good reason, we would render it here. We have the corresponding Hebrew expression in אֱלֹהֵי and אֱלֹהֵי.

2d. נַת = "nath" in Safnath. The old Egyptian was "ent." So Renouf, Budge, and others. The Coptic has preserved for us the force and significance of

this old Egyptian word or particle "ent." The Coptic is  = "ente," and signifies the particle "of," or "of" the sign of the Genitive case or construct state. So it is used not only in Coptic but in old Egyptian inscriptions. In the Hieroglyphic this particle was used between a noun and a verb. In the Coptic it is used between two nouns. This old Egyptian "ent" throws light upon, or perhaps indicates something as to, the origin of the Hebrew אֵת; e. g., Gen. iv. 1, "I have gotten me a man" אֵת = "of," not מֵן = "from" (A. V.), or עִם = "with" (R. V.).

3d.  $\text{Saf}$  = "Saf," not "Zaph," as in the A. V. There has been more discussion in regard to the meaning of this part of the name. But upon examining the Hieroglyphic Lexicon or Vocabulary of Pierret, it is strange to see how there can be any doubt as to the word and its meaning. Pierret gives as follows :—

and = "sefi," "sif" =  
"child," "son," etc.

= "2 fils," "2 sons," and =  
"sef-sen."

= "reb," corresponds, in the Rhind papyrus, to  $\tilde{a} k$  =  
"sa" = "filius," "son."

The precise correspondence between the old Egyptian "Sef," "Sefi," "Sif," and this Hebrew  $\text{Saf}$ , as the first part of the old Egyptian name of Joseph, is evident. "Saf," therefore, means "son;" and the old Egyptian name of Joseph means, therefore, "Son of the Living One," i. e., God.

# OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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## V.

### ISAIAH.

LIII. 4. See under Gen. XLIX. 10.

— 5. "But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed." See under LII. 13.

"But he was wounded," etc. Rav Huna said, in the name of Rabbi Acha: The sufferings are divided into three parts,—one for David and the Patriarchs; one for the generation of the destruction (i. e., for Israel in the exile); and one for the Messiah, of whom it is said, "Yet have I set my king" (Ps. II. 6).—*Yalkut* in loco.

— 6. "And the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."

The congregation of Israel said to the Holy One, blessed be he! Lord of the universe! for the sake of the Law, which thou hast given to me, and which is called a source of life, shall I ever enjoy thy light? What is the meaning of "in thy light shall we see light" (Ps. XXXVI. 9)? It denotes the light of the Messiah; as it is said, "And God saw the light, that it was good" (Gen. I. 4). This teaches that the Holy One, blessed be he! had already respect to the generation of the Messiah and to his works, before the creation of the world, and that he preserved that first light under the throne of his glory for the Messiah and his age. Satan pleaded before the Holy One, blessed be he! and said: Lord of the universe, for whom is the light preserved under the throne of glory? The Holy One answered: For him who is to overthrow and to shame thee. Satan said: Let me see him! The Holy One said: Come and see him! When he saw him he trembled and fell upon his face and said: Yes, truly, that is surely the Messiah who will throw me and all idolatrous nations into hell; for it is said, "He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces" (Isa. XXV. 6). In that hour the nations gathered together and said before the Holy One, blessed be he! Lord of the universe, who is he in whose hands we are to fall? What is his name? What is his nature? The Holy One replied: Ephraim, Messiah, my righteousness—is his name; he exalts his light and that of his generation,

and gives light to the eyes of Israel, and redeemeth his people. No nation or tongue can stand before him: for it is said, "The enemy shall not exact upon him, nor the son of wickedness afflict him" (Ps. LXXXIX. 22). All his enemies and adversaries shall fear him and go back before him; as it is said, "And I will beat down his foes before his face" (v. 23). Even the streams will run before him into the sea; as it is said, "I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers" (v. 25). When they flew, the Holy One, blessed be he! began to stipulate with him (the Messiah). He said to him: The sins of those who are treasured up beside thee will bring thee under a yoke of iron, and make thee like this calf, whose eyes are dim, and will torment thy spirit with unrighteousness; and because of transgression thy tongue will cleave to the roof of thy mouth. Dost thou accede to this? Messiah rejoined before the Holy One, blessed be he?—Lord of the universe, perhaps this trouble is for many years? The Holy One, blessed be he! replied: By thy life and the life of thy head, a week have I decreed upon thee (Dan. ix. 27). If it grieve thy soul, I will expel or afflict thee now. He replied before him: Lord of the universe, with heartfelt gladness and with heartfelt joy I take this upon myself, on condition that not one of Israel shall perish; and that not only those that are alive shall be saved in my days, but also those that are hid in the dust; and not only the dead shall be saved in my days, but also those dead who died from the time of the first Adam until now; and not these only, but also those who have been prematurely born; and not only these, but also all that are in thy mind to create and have not yet been created. Thus I consent, and on these terms I take this office upon myself.—*Yalkut on Isaiah* LX. 1.

LIV. 5. "For thy Maker is thine husband."

"This month shall be unto you" (Exod. xii. 2); this is like unto a king who, at his betrothal, consigns to his bride only a few gifts. But when he married her he consigned to her so many gifts as is becoming a husband. In the same manner, this world is a bride, as it is said, "And I will betroth thee unto me for ever" (Hos. ii. 19); but he only gave to them the moon, as it is said, "This month shall be unto you." But in the days of the Messiah they will be married, as it is said, "For thy Maker is thine husband;" and then he will give them everything, as it is said, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as stars for ever and ever" (Dan. xii. 3).—*Midrash on Exodus* xii. 22, sect. 15.

— 11. "Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colors, and lay thy foundations with sapphires."

On the words, "This month shall be unto you" (Exod. xii. 2), the Midrash remarks that, in the future, God will make ten new things. The fifth is that Jerusalem will be built with sapphires, as it is said, "Behold, I will lay," etc.,

and "I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones" (Isa. LIV. 12). And these stones will shine like the sun, and the nations of the world will come and rejoice in the glory of Israel, as it is said, "And the gentiles shall come to thy light" (*ibid.*, LX. 8). —*Midrash on Exodus* XII. 2, sect. 15.

LVII. 16. "For the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made."

Rabbi Hiya, the son of Tanchum, or as others say, in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, interpreted our passage thus: King Messiah shall not come till all the souls are brought into existence which were included in the divine plan at the creation. And these are the souls which are indicated in the book of the first man; for it is said, "This is the book of the generation of Adam" (Gen. v. 1).—*Midrash on Koheleth or Ecclesiastes* I. 6; on *Genesis* v. 1, sect. 24; *Talm. Yebamoth*, fol. 62, col. a; fol. 63, col. 2.<sup>1</sup>

LIX. 15. "Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

We have the teaching, Rabbi Judah said, in the generation in which the Son of David shall come, the house of assembly will be for fornication, and Galilee shall be in ruins, and Gaban laid waste; and the men of Gabul shall go from city to city, and shall find no favor. And the wisdom of the scribes shall stink, and they that fear sin shall be despised, and the face of that generation shall (shamelessly) be as that of a dog; truth shall fail, as it is said, "Yea, truth faileth." What is the meaning of "Yea, truth faileth"? Those of the house of Rav say that she shall be made into droves (i. e., divided among opposing schools or parties), and thus go away. What is the meaning of "He that turns from evil will be regarded as a fool"? Those of the house of Rabbi Shilah say, Everyone that departeth from evil shall be counted a fool by the world.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 1; cf. also *Midrash on Song of Solomon*, 2:13.

— 16. "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor."

Rabbi Yochanan said, "The Son of David will come only in a generation which is either wholly guiltless or wholly guilty; for concerning the former it is written, "Thy people shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever" (Isa. LX. 21), and concerning the latter it is written, "And he saw that there was no man," etc., and it is added, "For mine own sake, even for mine own sake, will I do it" (Isa. XLVIII. 11).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1; *Yalkut* in loco.

— 17. "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation

<sup>1</sup> In the latter passages it reads "Son of David."

upon his head; and he put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak."

"He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation" (Isa. LXI. 10). There are seven garments which the Holy One, blessed be his name! has put on since the world began, or will put on before the hour when he will visit with his wrath the godless Edom. When he created the world he clothed himself in honor and glory; for it is said, "Thou art clothed with honor and glory" (Ps. CIV. 1). When he showed himself at the Red Sea he clothed himself in majesty; for it is said, "The Lord reigneth; he is clothed with majesty" (Ps. XCIII. 1). When he gave the law he clothed himself with might; for it is said, "Jehovah is clothed with might, wherewith he hath girded himself" (Ps. XCIII. 1). As often as he forgave Israel its sins he clothed himself in white; for it is said, "His garment was white as snow" (Dan. VII. 9). When he punishes the nations of the world he puts on the garments of vengeance, as it is said, "He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak" (Isa. LIX. 17). He will put on the sixth robe when the Messiah is revealed. Then will he clothe himself in righteousness; for it is said, "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation on his head" (*ibid.*). He will put on the seventh robe when he punishes Edom. Then will he clothe himself in red; for it is said, "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" (Isa. LXIII. 2). But the robes with which he will clothe the Messiah will shine from one end of the world to the other; for it is said, "As a bridegroom who is crowned with his turban, like a priest" (Isa. LXI. 10). And the sons of Israel will rejoice in his light, and will say, Blessed be the hour when the Messiah was born; blessed the womb which bore him; blessed the eyes that were counted worthy to see him. For the opening of his lips is blessing and peace; his speech is rest to the soul; the thoughts of his heart confidence and joy; the speech of his lips pardon and forgiveness; his prayer like the sweet-smelling savor of a sacrifice; his supplications holiness and purity. O, how blessed is Israel for whom such a lot is reserved; for it is said, "How great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee" (Ps. XXXI. 19).—*Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 149, col. 1.

- 19, 20. "So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him. And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord."

Rabbi Jochanan said: If thou seest a generation whose prosperity is gradually diminishing, look out for him (i. e., the Messiah); for it is said, "And the afflicted people thou wilt save" (2 Sam. XXII. 28). If thou seest a generation



overwhelmed with great calamities as with a flood, look out for him; for it is said, "When the enemy," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

- LX. 1. "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

*Targum*: Arise, shine, O Jerusalem, for the time of thy redemption is come, and the glory of the Lord is revealed upon thee.

If you are careful in observing the lighting the lamps, I will let shine for you a great light in the future, as it is said, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come."—*Midrash on Numbers* VIII. 2, sect. 15.

- 2. "For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord," etc.

A Sadducee once asked Rabbi Abuhu, When will Messiah come? He replied, When darkness will cover your people. Why dost thou curse me? asked the other. The Rabbi answered, The Scripture says, "For behold, the darkness shall cover," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

God will bring darkness over the nations; but to the Israelites he will give light; as it is said, "For behold, the darkness," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus* x. 23, sect. 14.

- 3. See under LIV. 11.

- 21. See under LIX. 16.

- LXI. 5. "And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks; and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen," etc.

A teacher of Elijah's school said: Once I went from place to place, and I found an old man who said to me, What will become of the nations of the world in the days of the Messiah? I said to him, My son, every nation and every kingdom that had persecuted and mocked Israel shall see the blessing of Israel, and shall return to their dust and have no share in life; for it is said, "The wicked shall see it and be grieved" (Ps. CXII. 10). But every nation and every kingdom that did not persecute and mock Israel will come in the days of the Messiah; for it is said, "And strangers shall stand," etc.; but "ye shall be named the priests of the Lord" (Isa. LXI. 6).—*Yalkut on Exod.* XII. 48.

- 10. See under LIX. 17.

- LXIII. 2. See under LIX. 17.

- 4. "The day of vengeance is in my heart," etc.

Rabbi said: [The days of the Messiah will be] 365 years, according to the number of the days of the sun; for it is said, "The day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

See also under Ps. xc. 15.

Rabbi Saul, of Nava, said, in the name of Rabbi Simeon: If someone asks

thee, when the time of redemption comes, reply, "The day of vengeance is in my heart." Thus it is written.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* XII. 10.

- 16. "For thou art our father; for Abraham has not known us, and Israel acknowledges us not; thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer of old is thy name."

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachmani, said, in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: What is the meaning of, "For thou art our father," etc.? In the Messianic future, the Holy One, blessed be he! will say to Abraham, Thy children have sinned. He will reply: Let them be blotted out, by reason of the holiness of thy name. The Lord will then say: I will address myself to Jacob, who, having experienced trouble in rearing his children, will perhaps intercede for them. He said to them, Thy children have sinned. He replied, Let them be blotted out, by reason of the holiness of thy name. He will say, There is no rationality in old people, and no counsel in young ones. He will then say to Isaac, Thy children have sinned. He will then reply, What! My children and not thine? When, in their eagerness, they said, "We will do and hear," thou didst call them, "Israel is my first-born son" (Exod. iv. 22); and now they are my children and not thine! What is the extent of their transgression? How many are the years of man? Seventy, take off twenty, during which no punishment is inflicted,<sup>1</sup> and there remain fifty. Take off twenty-five more that are spent in sleep, and there remain twenty-five. Take off half of these for the time spent in prayer, eating and relieving nature, and there remain twelve and a half. These few years of sin, if thou wilt bear them alone, well; if not, let half be borne by me, and half by thee. Or shouldest thou say that I am to bear them all alone, behold, I have offered myself sacrificially unto thee. At this they will say (to Isaac), "Thou art our father." But Isaac will say, Instead of praising me, praise the Holy One, blessed be he! They will then raise their eyes on high, and say, "Thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer of old is thy name."—*Talm. Shabbath*, fol. 89, col. 2.

- LXIV. 4. "Neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee."

Rabbi Yochanan said: All the prophets prophesied only with reference to the days of the Messiah; but as regards the world to come, "Eye hath not seen, O God, beside thee," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col 1.

<sup>1</sup> Only those who were above that age died in the wilderness (Num. xiv. 29).

## THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION IN THE TUNNEL OF NEGUB.

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In a tunnel in the neighborhood of Negub, on the Zab river, Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, I. 81, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 616) found a slab upon which an inscription was engraved. The text has been published by him in his *Inscriptions*, plate 35, but in a very mutilated condition. It would be impossible to make anything out of the inscription if a recent find did not give the necessary material.

Brit. Mus. 81-6-7. 219 (seal of Esarhaddon) contains the following (only concocted<sup>1</sup>) genealogy of Esarhaddon :

- 8. Aššûr-âhi-iddin-na, etc.
- 27. apal Sin-âhi-ir-ba, etc.  
    apal Šam-ukîn, etc.
- 29. li-ip-li-pi da-rû-u ša Bîl-ib-ni apal  
    A-da-si šar mâtu Aššûr KI
- 30. pir'u Pal. Bî. KI (Aššûr) Šû-ku-ru ? ? —  
    u-tu ki-šit-ti ša-a-ti.

K. 2801 Aššûr-âhi-iddina  
    apal Sin-âhi-ir-ba apal Šam-ukîn, etc.  
    lib-lib-bi šarrû-ti ša Bîl-BA (ibni or šbuš  
    or bani) šar  
    mâtu Aššûr KI ki-šit-[ti ša-a-ti] Pal. Bî.  
    KI. (Aššûr).

A. H. 82 : 7-14 no number (cylinder of Saosduchinos) .

Šamaš-šum-ukîn.... apal Aššûr-âhi-iddina..... TUR. TUR (liplipi) Sin-âhi-irbâ, etc..... lip-pal-pal Šarru-ukîn etc..... šarru-u-ti da-ru-u ša Bîl-ba-ni (sic ! ) apal A-da-si pir'u Pal. Bî. KI. (Aššûr).

This genealogy was concocted only during the reign of Esarhaddon.<sup>1</sup> It was to give the Sargon dynasty, which had simply usurped the throne, the necessary line of ancestors: for Bîl-bani and Adasi must be looked upon as the ancestors of a dynasty which ruled in primeval times.<sup>2</sup> A similar statement is never found

<sup>1</sup> See the introduction to my edition of the Sargon inscriptions, which will soon leave the press.

<sup>2</sup> I hope to speak more fully of this upon another occasion.

before the time of Esarhaddon. This gives us a clew as to who the builder of the tunnel of Negub was, for on the fifth line of the inscription the name A-da-si can be clearly made out. Before that we must read Bīl-BA (= ibni, bani). According to the above it becomes probable that the inscription is the work of Esarhaddon. His name, it is true, is now lost: but at the end we must certainly read apal Sin-âḫi [irbâ], so that there can be no doubt as to the author of the inscription.

I shall now give the transcription and translation of what I have reconstructed from the publication of Layard.

- L. 3. .... apal Sin-âḫi [irbâ]  
 4. Šarru rabû šarru] dan-nu šar kiššati  
 Šar mātu Aššûr apal Šarru-ukîn šar  
 mātu Aššûr šakkanak Ka-dingir-KI.  
 (Babili) šar I mī. [Ku. (Sumîri) u Akkadi  
 5. . . . . ? li-ip-li-[pi] Bīl-BA  
 (ibni) apal A-da-si šar mātu Aššûr  
 Ki-šitti [ša-a-ti. ....  
 6. .... ḫirîtu bu-tuk(?) -ti ša Aššûr  
 našir-apli rubû a-lik pa-[na. ....  
 7. .... iṣ]-tu ki-rib nâru Zaban ili  
 ta-mir-ti alu Kal-ḫi- ušaḫru-u ? . . . . .

Translation: Esarhaddon....son of Sennacherib, the great, the powerful king, king of the hosts, king of Assur, son of Sargon, king of Assur, suzerain of Babylon, king of Sumir and Accad.....(of the) descendants of Bil-ibni, son of Adasi, king of Assur....?

6. A canal and tunnel which Asur-našir-pal, a prince who lived before my time, had caused to be dug from the bed of the Zab to the reservoir of Kalḫi. ....

The remark of Layard (*loc. cit.*) that the whole intention of the builder was to lead the water of the Zab to Nimrud (Kalḫi) or to the surrounding plain, agrees exactly with the contents of the inscription.

## ➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

**Mr. Crane on Tikkun Sopherim.**—Mr. Crane, in writing on the Tikkun Sopherim, should have known that in my "Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum," pp. 87, 88, I have gathered together all the literature upon that subject. He must know at least of Geiger's "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel." From the great work of Ch. D. Ginsburg, "The Massora compiled from Manuscripts," vol. II. (London, 1883), p. 710, he could have learned that among the Massorites themselves differences about the תיקון סופרים existed.

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**Pronunciation of יהוה.**—Concerning the original pronunciation of the divine name יהוה, the writer has been accustomed to instruct his classes as follows: Though the original vowels belonging to יהוה are nowhere given in the Old Testament, a contracted form of the name, which has vowels, exists, at the close of certain proper names, עזריהו, אמציהו, ישעיהו, etc. In the case of other words, a similar contracted ending represents an uncontracted original form, having vowels as well as consonants, as;—ישתחו, Exod. xxxiv. 8; Josh. v. 14, et. al., ישתחו, Gen. xviii. 2, et. al., for ישתחוה, 2 Sam. xv. 32, et. al. Assuming that similar contracted forms proceed from corresponding uncontracted forms, יהו must represent an original יהוה; or, allowing ה to close the first syllable יהוה. Cf. the form יה found in Ps. lxxviii. 5, and elsewhere. To recapitulate—יהוה contracts to יהו in עזריהו, etc. ישתחוה contracts to ישתחו; hence יהוה or יהוה is the *voweled* original.

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**The de Sarzec Inscriptions.**—The following interesting summary is taken from a dissertation (for the doctorate) prepared by Ira M. Price, Ph. D., Morgan Park, Ill., and presented to the Philosophical faculty, University of Leipsic:

"M. Ernest de Sarzec entered upon official duty as consul of the French government at Bosrah in January, 1877. He had had the advantage of experience in desert life—several years in Egypt and in Abyssinia. In Egypt, especially, he had acquired a fondness for the study of antiquities. His new position in the midst of the empires of the past, in the midst of the ruins of the almost fabulous civilizations of 3000 years ago, fanned this flame into action, and pushed him out into the fields of treasures. His zeal and true devotion to the interests of science, and most of all his indomitable energy in pushing to realization his cherished hopes, set a most worthy example before the consuls of all civilized, all enlightened and educated peoples. The beginning of the discoveries was

almost contemporaneous with his arrival in the country. Within two months, he began his expedition into lower Chaldea. From March 5th to June 11th, 1877, he conducted his first campaign. February 18th to June 9th, 1878, marked his second tour. Upon his return to Paris in July, 1878, the exhibition of his discoveries aroused great enthusiasm and he was again sent to Bosrah. A third trip was made in January, 1880, and continued three months, during which time some of his most important discoveries were made. He undertook a fourth campaign November 12th, 1880, to March 15th, 1881. On his return to France in May, 1882, he was made 'Correspondent de l'Institut de France,' and the fruits of his discoveries were deposited in the Louvre. It was also, at once, decided to publish the results of these excavations for the benefit of scholars at large.

"The point of M. de Sarzec's excavations lay in Chaldea, at Tello, about three or four days from Bosrah, about sixty miles north of Mugheir, forty-five miles east of Warka, and five east of Hatt-el-Hai, a canal connecting the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The ruins, or hills, of Tello are about four miles long, located in the midst of a morass which owes its origin to the numerous branches of this canal. In this hill, Tello, which Rassam once visited, near the north-west end, de Sarzec made his most important discovery. He lay bare a temple, whose outer wall presents the form of a parallelogram about 175 feet long, by 100 broad. The angles point toward the four points of the compass, contrary to the position of the pyramids of Egypt, whose sides occupy this position. This temple, as those of Chaldea and Babylonia in general, was found to stand on a mound sixteen to twenty feet high. The outer wall is five feet thick, built of bricks one foot in length and breadth, cemented together with bitumen, and bearing the inscription or name, *Gu-de-a*. After exposing the walls, de Sarzec pushed his way through the doors and windows into this structure. The first room into which he entered has a basal measure of 55×65 feet. In this room he found nine headless statues of diorite, a large number of fragments of vases, and remnants of various other kinds of Chaldean art. In the entire palace he found thirty-six rooms of different forms and sizes. In most of them something of real interest was discovered. Especially noteworthy was a discovery, made here in 1877, of two terra-cotta cylinders, each twenty-four inches in length by twelve inches in diameter. Each of these remarkable cylinders contains about 2000 lines of inscriptions.

"The inscriptions included in the discoveries of de Sarzec are of several kinds. They evidently belong to quite different periods of history. Of those published in '*Découvertes en Chaldée*,' Livraison I, plate 2, Nos. 1 and 2 exhibit a very rude specimen of writing, rather hieroglyphic than cuneiform. Plates 3 and 4 give us a better style, not so rude, but still preserving the general outline of the same signs that can be seen on plate 2. On plate 7, No. 2, enlarged on plate 8, is found a very bold linear form of writing, exhibiting some very ancient forms, e. g. < in an original O. In the so-called Gudea-inscription, plates 16-19, the style of writing has reached an artistic nicety. The lines which characterize the other inscriptions just mentioned, are beginning in a few cases to give way to a narrow wedge. In the small inscriptions of plate 29, the wedge is distinctly seen, especially in No. 1. Further, all these forms of writing, from the rudest down to the most artistic, let us into the secret of the origin of a large

number of signs, whose original form and meaning hitherto has been enveloped in uncertainty.

"From a disregard of the question of the direction of writing and reading, the question of the origin of the signs has in the past been forced to carry double difficulties. From the discoveries of de Sarzec the original direction of writing and reading may be considered as settled beyond a question. The attempt to explain the origin of the signs, by taking them in the positions in which we find them in the later Babylonian and Assyrian, as read from left to right, meets with failure in almost every case. On this ground Houghton set forth his explanations, rather guesses, of a large number of signs. In several of his solutions he resorted to a method which should have set him on the right track, viz.: that of setting the signs upright. To a close observer there had been abundant evidence of this primitive direction of writing and reading long before de Sarzec's discoveries. In the works of Dorow and Ker Porter are found figures of seals with inscriptions in these early characters. The lines of writing read, as in de Sarzec, downwards. This is distinctly shown by the position of the mythical figures at their sides. The perpendicular lines also progress from right to left, as do the Semitic languages in general (except Ethiopic). The language of the inscriptions is the so-called Sumerian or Akkadian, in its very earliest forms. It is further, as distinguished from later productions, unilingual. It is written in what seems to be purely ideographic characters, with no trace whatever of what are called dialectical differences. A large number of very small inscriptions in the same language are found in I R. 1-5; also, the unilingual inscriptions of Hammurabi, the language on many of the seals in the magnificent catalogue of the collection of de Clercq, several published seals of the British Museum, and many of the tablets published by Strassmaier, belong to about the same class. The contents surpass in amount and extent those of all other similar inscriptions. They seem to be principally dedicatory memoirs to the building of temples. The pantheon is taken up, and each god assigned his place, with his peculiar relations to men. The sources of the materials, the methods of transportation, and the purposes for which these materials were used in the building of the temples, are all recorded with a nice accuracy. Of the great theme of late Assyrian history, such as wars, subjugations, very little is said. Together with Magan and Meluhha are mentioned a large number of geographical points, throwing much light upon the geography of these old countries. The work already done [July, 1886] on these inscriptions embraces a few scattered translations of the smaller and less difficult ones, principally by French Assyriologists. These have been published, for the most part, in their own journals. Although these have been very fragmentary, they have been, by no means, devoid of results. They have merely intimated what a mine of information is yet to be derived from an exhaustive study of these inscriptions."

The author gives about twenty pages, text, translation and glossary, of "The Gudea Inscription" (plates 18-19). A complete work, including the Transcription, Transliteration, and, as far as possible, the Translation, Glossary and Sign-list, of the published inscriptions of de Sarzec, is promised at an early date.

## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### WICKES' TREATISE ON HEBREW ACCENTUATION.\*

This is really a continuation of a work published by the same author in 1881, on the accentuation of the three so-called poetical books of the Old Testament. The writer began with the poetical books, partly because the ground to be covered would be less, and partly also because these books stood in greater need of treatment. In the work before us Mr. Wickes has employed a truly scientific method. No pains have been spared to make the treatment full and accurate. It is not too much to say that no work of an equally conscientious or valuable character, has ever before been done on this subject. The MSS. in all the principal libraries have been collated, a work in itself of great magnitude.

His presentation of the purposes of the accents is excellent. The distinction made and carried out so rigidly between logical and syntactical pauses makes very simple what, at least to beginners, has always been obscure. No one can now doubt either (1) that the purpose was to draw out the sense and impress it on the minds of readers and hearers; or (2) that the *meaning* thus drawn out is only the traditional meaning, and consequently to be disregarded when satisfactory arguments may be presented.

Perhaps most interesting will be found the author's arguments for the later date of the Babylonian system of punctuation as compared with the Palestinian. His conclusion that the Babylonian is but an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system is well-founded and will be generally accepted.

What he gives us in reference to the original musical force of the accents, though meagre, is more definite than anything which has been before published. The highest melodies were represented by Pāzēr, T'lišā, Gérēs; the medium, by Zārqa (S'ghōltā), R'bhi(ā)', L'gharmē, T'bhīr; the lowest, by Paštā, Zāqēph, Tiph-ḥā, 'Athnāḥ and Sillūq. The distinction of Emperors, Kings, Counts, etc., is justly claimed to be fanciful and misleading. It is a distinction originated by early Christian writers, and is not found in Jewish grammars. Chapter III. takes up the general question of the *dichotomy*, which lies at the basis of the whole system. Its origin is explained to have arisen in connection with the poetical parts of the Pentateuch, e. g., Exod. xv.; Deut. xxxii. First applied to these according to the principles of Hebrew poetry, it afterwards spread to the prose portions. Adopting as a law, that the main dichotomy should always be found where the main logical pause would require it, he proceeds to classify under seven heads the variations to this law. Variations may be satisfactorily explained as due, e. g., to an effort to secure rhetorical effect, to mark special emphasis, or to present a peculiar interpretation. The cases cited are generally well-chosen. Occasionally,

\* A TREATISE ON THE ACCENTUATION OF THE TWENTY-ONE SO-CALLED PROSE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, WITH A FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE CODEX ASSIGNED TO BEN-ASHER, IN ALEPPO. By Wm. Wickes, D. D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, \$1.75



however, a text will be found which does not seem to support the author's view. Chapter IV. treats of syntactical dichotomy. The laws for the accentuation of the subject, the object, adverbs, prepositional phrases, the vocative, the verb, the predicate in nominal sentences, and conjunctions, under different circumstances, are given with their deviations. In Chapter V., the treatment of Šillûq, the presentation is something like this: The main dichotomy may come on the first word before Šillûq and be marked by Tîphhâ or 'Athnâh, the former being most common (Gen. II. 1; Isa. XXXVI. 1); on the *second* word, marked by 'Athnâh or Tîphhâ (for the latter, Gen. I. 13; Exod. xv. 18); on the *third* or *fourth* word, marked by 'Athnâh or Zâqêph; on the *fifth* word, always marked by 'Athnâh. The succeeding chapters take up the consecution of 'Athnâh, Zâqêph, and the remaining accents.

An interesting feature of the work is the list of texts, corrected by the rules laid down, in connection with each section. Nor are these corrections the work of conjecture. Not only do they, as thus amended, accord with the laws deduced, but in nearly every case MS. authority is found to corroborate the emendation. The arguments by which Š'gholtâ is shown to be subordinate to 'Athnâh, and the proof that it is but a substitute under certain definite circumstances for Zâqêph are, taken together, convincing and conclusive.

It has been attempted to give a notice of the contents and spirit of this book. Further details cannot be added. Criticism, while on some points possible, is hardly gracious, in view of the great flood of light which our author, by his painstaking labors, has shed upon the subject of the accents. It is sufficient to say of this volume what Professor Driver has said of the first: "A more lucid or masterly exposition of a complicated subject could scarcely be imagined."

W. R. HARPER.

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#### DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHES WOERTERBUCH.\*

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The first *Lieferung* of Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* has at last made its appearance to the great delight of all Assyrian, as well as general Semitic, students. It consists of 168 large quarto pages, written in Delitzsch's characteristically plain hand. These pages carry us from א to אִתְּ. In his preface, the author states that he hopes to finish this work in ten such *Lieferungen* of 160 pp. each, i. e. in all, 1600 pp.

The author has compiled his lexicon in strict concordance with the rules laid down in his *Prolegomena*. These are in brief, 1) the explanation of the Assyrian by means of the Assyrian, references to be made to the other Semitic languages only when necessary to bring out the meaning more clearly, or for the sake of comparison; 2) the arrangement of the stems alphabetically and the placing of all derivatives under their respective stems; 3) the separation of the Proper Nouns from the lexicon proper; 4) the separation of the most important notes from those of less importance and from mere theories. The former are in

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\* ASSYRISCHES WOERTERBUCH ZUR GESAMMTEN BISHER VERÖFFENTLICHTEN KEILSCHRIFT-LITERATUR UNTER BERUECKSICHTIGUNG ZAHLREICHER UNVERÖFFENTLICHTER TEXTE VON Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. ord. hon. für Assyriologie und Semitische Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig. Erste Lieferung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1887. 4to. 168 pp. M.30

large type, the latter in smaller type, or classified as foot-notes. Naturally a great many things have been inserted which would not find place in a Hebrew or Arabic lexicon; for example, the publication *in extenso* of many unpublished texts. This was found necessary, because a great many texts had been published very imperfectly, and others of great importance had not been published at all. This method adds greatly to the bulk of the lexicon; and yet it is far preferable to that suggested by Prof. Lyon, viz.: that the texts should rather be published in different numbers of one of the journals devoted to Assyriology. It is, to say the least, the simpler and more convenient method of the two.

Although this lexicon appeared only last April, it has already received much criticism, both favorable and unfavorable, fair and unfair.<sup>1</sup>

A book should, in so far as possible, be judged from the stand-point of the author, and not from that of the critic, or, to be more explicit, Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* should be judged from what it professes to be, and not from what other people think it should be. The author announces that his book is to be a complete lexicon to all the inscriptions heretofore published, and to *SOME*—not *ALL*—unpublished inscriptions. One reviewer<sup>2</sup> is unreasonable enough to say in one column that the book should have been made a pocket-dictionary instead of what it is, and, a few lines below this statement, that the book is of no value because it does not contain *all* the words in *all* the unpublished and as yet unnumbered and even unwashed tablets in the British Museum. How long would we be compelled to wait if Delitzsch had not published his lexicon until all the tablets in the British Museum were classified and read? Mr. Pinches, with the assistance of others, has worked indefatigably during the last nine years to bring about this classification. And yet how many thousands of tablets remain untouched? Again, Mr. Smith should have criticized the fundamental principle laid down by the author in his *Prolegomena*, viz.: that the Assyrian should, in so far as possible, be explained by and through the Assyrian, instead of denouncing him because he has not filled his book with numerous comparisons from the Arabic, a language which is, relatively speaking, remotely related to the Assyrian.

Prof. Delitzsch has endeavored to arrange each word under its root in alphabetical order. No one can appreciate the difficulty of this work who has not made a similar attempt. The arrangement according to stems in the other Semitic languages must be considered as mere child's play when compared to the Assyrian. Our author has, in all probability, made many mistakes in this arrangement, and he himself is the last one to claim perfection for his work. Where he was in doubt as to the stem of a word, he has frankly admitted his doubt. His theories, in such cases, have been added in smaller type and in many cases with the greatest reluctance.

The author, so far as we have seen, has made no direct statements as to his present position on the Sumero-Akkadian question. As far back as the third edition of his *Assyrische Lesestuecke* (July, 1885), he has carefully avoided the terms Sumerian and Akkadian, preferring the more general and non-committal term "Non-Semitic." In Dr. Zimmern's *Busspsalmen*, he admits that more scientific methods and more convincing arguments must be used against the Anti-Akkadists

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prof. D. G. Lyon's most fair and appreciative review in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, at Boston, May 1886; A. S. Smith, in the *Academy*, July 23, 1887; E. in the *Expositor*, Sept., 1887.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Smith, in the *Academy*, July 23, 1887.

than have heretofore been used, if the Akkadists wish to win their points. From several indirect statements, however, one is led to believe that Delitzsch is gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the Anti-Akkadist school of Halévy. His remarks are still very guarded and only serve to make one inquisitive in respect to the real views of the author. All Assyriologists would be pleased to have a plain and concise statement of his *present* views on this question.

Another point, going hand in hand with the preceding, may be noticed, viz.: that the author explains as good Semitic many words hitherto regarded as loan-words. Nothing else could be expected, after the remarks made above. Aba is placed under the stem אֲבָה, and translated "Secretär," with the additional remark that there is no doubt that it is "gutsemitisch." Abkallu, with less emphasis, however, is also regarded as a good Semitic word—contrary to Haupt, who takes it as a loan-word—composed of ab+kallum, cf. pp. 32, 33. The author's treatment of abarakku, abrakku (pp. 69, 70) is new and interesting. On p. 72, the expressions bîti abtu, Tig. vi. 99 = "mein zerstörtes Haus" and ab-ta-a-ti, Neb. Bors. ii. 10, = "die zu Grunde gegangenen," are explained by placing abtu and abtâti under the root אֲבָה. Mr. Smith<sup>1</sup> in "The Borsippa Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar," along with a multitude of other false derivations, says: "This certainly means 'stories.' I think the root is פָּתַח." He had evidently paid but little attention to Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* before writing this article (it appeared in July, about two weeks before the review in the Academy) or he would have noticed the derivation given by Delitzsch. Cf. also *Assyr. Woerterbuch*, p. 109. Agurru from a stem אָגַר, "to surround." Delitzsch distinguishes two agurru's (as he had already done in his "Vorlesungen"), viz: agurru, i. = "Umschliessung," "Einfassung," "Umkleidung," and agurru, ii. = "baked clay," "bricks," always used collectively.

On pp. 119, 120, new light is thrown on the difficult word adaguru which occurs in Nimrod Epos xi. 149. Cf. also êdlu from the stem אָדַל, instead of êtlu, pp. 150, sqq.

Many more interesting words and references could be cited, but lack of space forbids. In conclusion, it may be said that the first *Lieferung* contains even more material than could have been expected. The typographical execution is splendid. It is a monumental work and deserves the kind attention of all Semitic students. Many will not be able to agree with the author in all that he says, but all will recognize the hand of a master in this book. That the author's life may be prolonged until he brings this—his life's work—to completion should be the earnest wish of every Semitic student.

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#### TABLEAU COMPARE DES ECRITURES BABYLONIENNE ET ASSYRIENNE.\*

The body of the very useful and much needed work before us consists of a syllabary giving the archaic and the various modern forms of two hundred and ninety-six characters, to which, in a supplement, eleven are added, making a total

<sup>1</sup> In the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July, 1887.

\* A. Amlaud et L. Méchineau, TABLEAU COMPARE DES ECRITURES BABYLONIENNE ET ASSYRIENNE ARCHAÏQUES ET MODERNES AVEC CLASSEMENT DES SIGNES D'APRES LEUR FORME ARCHAÏQUE. Paris: Leroux. 1887. 12fr.

of three hundred and seven numbers. The archaic forms occurring on the monuments discovered in the plains of Chaldæa by de Sarzec are taken as a basis, and for the first time appear classified according to a certain system. Underneath the archaic form or forms of each character are ranged, in two parallel columns, the various equivalents in the more modern styles down to the current forms, all the Babylonian styles being to the left of the dividing line and the Assyrian to the right, the distinct forms in each column being further subdivided according to their derivation from the assumed prototype. This plan of arrangement, for obvious reasons, is an exceedingly convenient one. In this way the confusion to the eye is avoided which would result from a *single* array of signs, and the detection of a desired character is greatly facilitated, while, at the same time, the comparison between the Babylonian and Assyrian forms being at command, a survey of the entire field can be more readily obtained. Reference to cuneiform inscriptions are given for every single form, with the exception of the current Assyrian and Babylonian ones (which close the list under each number), where, of course, no references are required. In fifty-five instances (out of the three hundred and seven numbers) the archaic forms have not yet been found on the monuments, and have therefore been conjecturally constructed; but only when it has been possible to decompose the modern form into its parts, and when, for these parts, archaic equivalents exist, have the conscientious authors ventured to supply missing links in the chain. On the other hand, in twenty-five cases, our authors have not succeeded in assimilating the archaic form to a modern equivalent; and in six cases the assimilation is marked as uncertain. Following the syllabary comes a table of the numerals in the Gudea inscriptions, also with the Babylonian and Assyrian forms, and upon these, two lists, in modern Assyrian characters, arranged in the usual order, the first of which contains such signs as are referred to in the syllabary, together with the number under which they are to be found, and the second, those that are not, the two together forming, as the preface assures us, a complete index of the cuneiform signs at present known.

We should have liked to have seen a third list added, giving the old Babylonian forms with their equivalents in the current Assyrian style, for the benefit of those who are passing from the latter to the study of the former, and perhaps even a fourth list giving a similar arrangement of the characters in the modern Babylonian style might not have been superfluous.

An important and curious fact results from a study of the development of the cuneiform system such as is now, thanks to Messrs. Amiaud and Méchineau, placed within easy range of every student.

There was nothing which, in the early days of the decipherment, puzzled scholars so much and served to cast such suspicion in "lay" circles upon the results reached by the decipherers, as the *polyphonic* character of the signs. How was it possible, it was asked, that a *single* character should have the values "uṣ" and "nit," or "kal," "dan," "rib" and "lab"? We have long since ceased to wonder at this. It is rather the poly-ideographic character of the signs that may now more justly call forth our surprise. The association due to synonymy, or similarity of ideas, is of course the most important factor in accounting for the various significations which a character has acquired. In this way the sign which means *strong* is also used for the synonyms of *strong*; that for *mouth* may designate *face*, *countenance*, hence *form*, as well as to *speak*, *command* and *word* or *order*. A second factor is the association due to similarity of *sound*, to which the reviewer

recently called attention in a paper read before the American Oriental Association.<sup>1</sup> According to this principle identity or similarity in sound leads to the employment of a sign to express objects not otherwise related. Thus the character which, as an ideogram, has the value "libittu" *brick*, is extended to "lipittu" *fence*; and in the same way, merely through closeness of sound, "tukultu" *help* and "takiltu" *apparition*, are brought together; and many more the like

A third factor which is now, by the "Tableau Comparé," placed beyond doubt, is the *fusion* of two, and in some cases of three, signs, originally distinct, into one. Messrs. Amiaud and Méchineau call attention to eight cases where this process has taken place. The sign, for instance, which has the phonetic values "uṣ" and "nit" (No. 137 of Delitzsch's "Schrifttafel") has two entirely distinct archaic prototypes. Now we know that "uṣ" is the "Sumero-Akkadian" for Assyrian "zikaru" *male*, and "nit," an abbreviation of "nita" or "nitaḥ," is the equivalent of "ridû" *stream, effusion*. There seems to be no connection whatever between these two terms; but on the assumption that the one of the archaic prototypes represents "uṣ" and the second "nit," and that it is merely by the flowing together of the two *forms* in the modern styles that the two terms have been thrown together, the difficulty is cleared away. The same applies to "bar" and "maṣ" (No. 47 of the "Schrifttafel"), for which again there exist two archaic forms. The sign "sar," "ḥir," etc. (No. 111), presents an interesting feature. While in the modern Babylonian there has taken place a fusion of only two forms, in the current Assyrian the process has gone still further and a third form, for which as yet a separate character is to be found in the former, has in the latter been thrown together with the other two. But the most interesting of the instances cited is that of "ku," etc. (No. 288), which reverts to no less than four archaic forms.

On the other hand, and as a kind of compensation, we find at least one instance where the contrary seems to have taken place, and signs are *differentiated* in modern styles which in older types are not distinguished. In the case of Nos. 215 and 219 (according to the "Schrifttafel") the further back we go, the less differences do they show, and in some of the Nebuchadnezzar texts there is practically none at all; so that, although the archaic form for the latter has not yet been found, it is very probable, as our authors say, that the two descend from "a single and common primitive form." But even if this be not admitted, the forms must have been so alike as to have been mistaken for one another. In no better way can we account for the fact that the latter has so many phonetic values, "bir," "pir," "laḥ" and "liḥ," in common with the former, and is furthermore used to express such ideas as "namaru" *to be bright* and "nuru" *light*. The sign, as is known, also designates "ṣabu" *warrior* and "ummânu" *army*, with a corresponding phonetic value "ṣab" (whence "ṣap" and "zab"); and if we may be permitted to venture a further conjecture, it is that, in the latter sense, the sign is an abbreviation of "SAB" and "ZUN." A parallel instance would be No. 288, which in the sense of "ṣubatu," "nalbaṣu" *dress*, seems to be an abbreviation of No. 291.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings for May, 1887, pp. 18-22. See also Zimmern, "Busaspalmen," p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In the "clothing" list, V R. 14, 15, Nos. 288 and 291 are used interchangeably as determinatives.

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## ◆ HEBRAICA. ◆

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No. 2.

### THE HEBREW TETRAMETER.

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In the *HEBRAICA*, April, 1886, I gave an account of the Hebrew trimeter, and in April, 1887, specimens of the strophical organization of the trimeters. I now propose to give some examples of the tetrameter, and in the articles soon to follow, to consider the pentameters, hexameters, and the poems of mixed rhythm.

The tetrameters are measured by four beats of the accent, and are often divided by a caesura into two halves, with two beats of the accent in each part. I shall first give a poem of equal strophes, and then specimens of strophes of different number of lines.

1. Psalm XLVI. has three strophes with refrains. The refrain is missing in the Hebrew text at the close of the first strophe, but I take the liberty of restoring it.

#### Strophe I.

אלהים לנו | מחסה ועז  
עזרה בצרות | נמצא מאד  
על-כן לא-נירא | בהמיר ארץ  
ובמוט הרים | בלב ימים  
יהמו יחמרו מימיו  
ירעשו הרים בגאותו  
יהוה צבאות עמנו } Refrain.  
משגב לנו | אלהי יעקב

The strophe is composed of three synonymous distichs. Four lines are tetrameters having a caesura in their midst. The last two lines are trimeters, where there is no such caesura. It is not uncommon for tetrameters to have occasional



trimeter lines to make the movement more rapid, especially at the beginning and at the end of strophes. The refrain is a trimeter in the first line and a tetrameter in the second line.

## Strophe II.

נהר פלגיו | ישמחו עיר-אלהים  
 קדש משכני עליין  
 אלהים בקרבה | בל תמוט  
 יעזרה אלהים | לפנות בקר  
 המו נזים | מטו ממלכות  
 נתן בקולו | תמוג ארץ  
 יהוה צבאות עמנו } Refrain.  
 משגב לנו | אלהי יעקב

This strophe is also composed of three synonymous distichs. The second line is a trimeter. The last four lines are fine examples of the use of the caesura.

It seems to me quite possible that נהר originally belonged to the second line. This would make both lines tetrameters, and the parallelism would be complete. A prosaic copyist would be likely to make such a mistake.

## Strophe III.

לכו חזו | מפעלות יהוה  
 אשר שם | שמות בארץ  
 משבית מלחמות | ער-קצה הארץ  
 קשת ישבר | וקצץ חנית  
 הרפו ודעו | כי-אנכי אלהים  
 ארום בנזים | ארום בארץ  
 יהוה צבאות עמנו } Refrain.  
 משגב לנו | אלהי יעקב

This strophe is also composed of three synonymous distichs, all tetrameters. The traditional text inserts after the fourth line עגלות ישראל באש. This is not only a trimeter, but it destroys the uniformity of the poem by making the strophe of seven lines instead of six, and by making a tristich in a Psalm composed elsewhere of only distichs. This line has probably crept in from the margin as a kindred idea.

2. Psalm XIII. gives an example of gradual decrease in the lines of strophes, the first strophe being a complaint, the second a petition, and the third concluding with confidence in Jahveh.

## Strophe I.

ער-אנה יהוה תשכחני נצח  
 ער-אנה תסתיר את-פניך ממני  
 ער-אנה אשית עצות בנפשי  
 ער-אנה יגן בלכבי יומם  
 ער-אנה ירום איבי עלי

The traditional text omits ער-אנה at the beginning of the fourth line, but gives it in every other line. This omission reduces the line to a trimeter and destroys the symmetry of the strophe. It should be restored.

## Strophe II.

הביטה ענני | יהוה אלהי  
 האירה עיני | פן-אישן המות  
 פן יאמר איבי יכלתיו  
 צרי יגילו כי אמוט

## Strophe III.

ואני בחסדך בטחתי  
 יגל לבי בישועתך  
 אשירה ליהוה | כי-גמל עלי

The first and second lines of the third strophe are trimeters in order to make a more rapid movement. The caesura is evident in the last tetrameter line.

3. The Dirge of David over Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 19-27, is a fine example of a tetrameter with refrains. There is great difference of opinion as to its strophical organization, due to the place of the three refrains. I am of the opinion that we have three diminishing strophes, the first and second beginning with the refrain, the latter made up entirely of the refrain itself. The refrain varies slightly. Its basis is אין נפלו גבורים, which appears in the first and last refrain in this trimeter form; but, in the second refrain, it is lengthened into a tetrameter by the addition of בתוך-המלחמה. The refrain is still further modified in the first example by being preceded by על-במותיך חלל; in the second instance by being followed by יהונתן על-במותיך חלל, and in the last example by being followed by ויאברו כלי מלחמה.

## Strophe I.

העזבי ישראל | על-במותיך חלל }  
 איך נפלו גבורים } Refrain.

(a)

אל תגידו בנת  
אל תבשרו | בחוצת אשקלח  
פן תשמחנה | בנות פלשתים  
פן תעלזנה | בנות הערלים

(b)

הרי בגלבע אל-טל  
ואל-מטר עליכם ושדי תרומות  
כי-שם נגעל מגן גבורים  
מגן שאול | בלי-משיח בשמן

(c)

מדם חללים | מחלב גבורים  
קשת יהונתן | לא-נשוג אחור  
וחרב שאול | לא-תשוב ריקם

(d)

שאול ויהונתן | הנאהבים והנעימים  
בחייהם ובמותם | לא נפרדו  
מנשרים קלו | מאריות גברו

(e)

בנות ישראל | אל-שאול בכינה  
המלבשכם שני | עם ערנים  
המעלה ערי-זהב | על לבושכן

## Strophe II.

איך נפלו גבורים בתוך-המלחמה }  
יהונתן על-במותיך חלל } Refrain.

(f)

צר-לי עליך | אחי יהונתן  
נעמת לי | מאד נפלאיתה  
אהבתך לי | מאהבת נשים

## Strophe III.

איך נפלו גבורים }  
ויאברו כלי מלחמה } Refrain.

If the refrains were absent or were not in their present position, it would be easier to divide the dirge into two tetrastichs and four tristichs, each of these being complete in itself. We have marked these by letters attached to the text. The first lines of the tetrastichs (a) and (b) are trimeters; but the other lines are tetrameters, some of them with the caesura evident. The Massoretic text reduces the tetrameter lines of the first tetrastich to trimeters and the trimeter to a dimeter by the use of the Măqqēph, and in the second tetrastich makes the two closing tetrameters into pentameters by omitting the Măqqēphs, but this is without regard to the rhythm.

In the first tristich (c) the tetrameters are evident with caesuras. In the second tristich (d), it is usual to attach **בְּרִייתָם וְהַנְעִימָם**; this breaks up the two tetrameters into three lines, a trimeter, dimeter and trimeter, which is hardly likely. Moreover, by arranging as we have done, the caesura appears in each line and the thought is stronger and better. In the third tristich (e), the caesuras are noticeable. In the fourth tristich (f), we disregard the Massoretic accents and restore the lines to their tetrameter form, and thus greatly improve the rendering.

I am distressed for thee, my brother, Jonathan;  
Thou art sweet to me, thou art very wonderful;  
Thy love to me, is more than the love of women.

4. One of the finest odes in the Old Testament is given in Exod. xv. It has a refrain which does not appear at the close of the strophes, but is given apart from them. It should be placed at the close of the strophes. The strophes increase, the second strophe being twice the length of the first, and the third strophe three times its length. The refrain is

אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה | כִּי־גָאָה גָּאָה } Refrain.  
סוֹם וּרְכָבוֹ | רִמָּה בִּים }

The movement is clearly tetrameter, with the caesura in the midst of each line.

Strophe I.

עֲזִי חֲמַרְתִּיָּה | וַיְהִי־לִי לִישׁוּעָה  
זֶה־אֱלֹהֵי וַאֲנוּהוּ | אֱלֹהֵי־אֲבִי וַאֲרַמְמָנְהוּ  
יְהוָה אִישׁ־מִלְחָמָה | יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ  
מִרְכָּבוֹת־פָּרָעָה וַחֲלִילוֹ | יְרֵה בִים  
וּמִבְּחַר שְׁלִשִׁי | טָבְעוּ בִים־סוֹף  
תַּהֲמַת יִכְסִּימוּ | יִרְדּוּ בַמְּצוּלָה כְּמוֹ־אֲבָן  
אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה | כִּי־גָאָה גָּאָה } Refrain.  
סוֹם וּרְכָבוֹ | רִמָּה בִּים }

The caesura is striking in each of these lines. The arrangement agrees with the usual division of the lines, except in the second line, which is divided in the Massoretic text into two lines, spoiling the movement. Line 6 is a pentameter. We find that occasionally at the end of the strophe tetrameters are lengthened to pentameters, just as we have seen that they are sometimes shortened to trimeters.

## Strophe II.

יִמִּינְךָ יְהוָה | נֹאדָרִי בִכַּח  
 יִמִּינְךָ יְהוָה | תִּרְעֵץ אוֹיֵב  
 וּבִרְכַּ גִּאוֹנְךָ | תִּהְרַם קִמִּיךָ  
 תִּשְׁלַח חֲרֹנְךָ | יֹאכִלְמוּ בִקֶּשׁ  
 וּבְרוּחַ אִפִּיךָ | נִעְרְמוּ מִים  
 נִצְבּוּ כִּמוֹ נֶד נִזְלִים  
 קִפְאוּ תִהְמַת | בִּלְבַּב יָם  
 אִמְרֵ אוֹיֵב | אֶרְדֵּף אִשִּׁיג  
 אֲחַלֵּק שִׁלְלִי | תִּמְלֹאמוּ נִפְשֵׁי  
 אֲרִיק חֲרָבִי | תִּוְרִישְׁמוּ יָדִי  
 נִשְׁפַּת בְּרוּחַךְ | כִּסְמוּ יָם  
 צִלְלוּ כַּעֲפֹרֶת בְּמִים אֲדִירִים  
 אֲשִׁירָה לִיהוָה | כִּי־נָאֵה נָאֵה } Refrain.  
 סוֹס וּרְכָבוֹ | רִמָּה בִּים

There is no departure from the tetrameter movement in this long strophe. In most of the lines the caesura is plain. In the Massoretic text, lines 5, 6, 7 are changed into trimeters by the misuse of the Māqqēph.

## Strophe III.

מִי כִמְכָה בְּאֵלִים יְהוָה  
 מִי כִמְכָה | נֹאדָר בִּקְדֹשׁ  
 נֹרָא תִהְלֵת | עֲשֵׂה פִלָּא  
 גִּטִּית יִמִּינְךָ | תִּבְלַעְמוּ אֶרֶץ  
 נַחִית בַּחֲסֹדֶךָ | עַם־זוֹ נֹאֵלֵת  
 נִהְלֵת בַּעֲזֶךָ | אֶל־נוֹה קִרְשֶׁךָ  
 שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים יִרְגֹּזוּן  
 חִיל אַחֲזוּ | יִשְׁבִּי פִלֶּשֶׁת  
 אֲז נִבְהִלוּ | אֶלּוּפֵי אֲדוֹם  
 אֵילֵי מוֹאָב | יִאֲחֲזוּ רַעַד

נמנו כל ישבי כנען  
 תפל עליהם | אימתה ופחד  
 בגרל זרועך | ידמו כאבן  
 ער יעבר | עמך יהוה  
 ער יעבר | עס-זו קנית  
 תבאמו ותטעמו | בהר נחלתך  
 מכון לשבתך | פעלת יהוה  
 מקדש יהוה | כוננו ידיך  
 אסירה ליהוה | כִּי-גֵאָה גֵאָה } Refrain.  
 סוס ורכבו | רמה בים

In this strophe of eighteen lines there is a single departure from the tetrameter movement. In line 7 the Massoretic text reduces a few of the lines to trimeters by an improper use of the Māqqēph. In the last line יהוה is to be preferred to אֲדֹנִי.

We now have a supplementary line which seems not to have belonged to the original poem. It is just such a supplement as we often find in the Psalter.

יהוה ימלך | לעולם ועד

5. The difference between the tetrameters and trimeters may be seen in Psalm LXXXIX., where there is a paraphrase of the covenant with David in seven strophes of eight trimeter lines each, enclosed in five strophes of twelve tetrameter lines. We shall give the tetrameter strophes and the opening and closing trimeter strophes.

#### Strophe I.

חסדי יהוה | עולם אשירה  
 לדר-ודר אודיע אמונתך בפי  
 כי-אמרתי עולם חסד יבנה  
 שמים תכן אמונתך בהם  
 כרתי ברית לבחירי }  
 גשבעתי לדור עבדי }  
 ער-עולם אכין זרעך }  
 ובניתי לדר-ודר כסאך  
 ויודו שמים | פלאך יהוה  
 אף אמונתך | בקהל קדשים  
 כי-מי בשחק | יערך ליהוה  
 ידמה ליהוה | בבני אלים

There are two things to be noticed in this strophe : (1) The caesura is not very evident in any of the lines and is not present in the most of them ; and (2) the four lines referring to the covenant with David assume the trimeter movement as a preparation for the long paraphrase of the covenant itself.

## Strophe II.

אל גערץ בסוד-קדשים רבה  
 ונורא על-כל סביביו יהוה  
 אלהי צבאות | מי כמוך  
 חסין יה | ואמונתך סביבותיך  
 אתה מושל | בגאות הים  
 בשוא גליו | אתה תשבחם  
 אתה רכאת כחלל רהב  
 בזרוע עז | פזרת אויבך  
 לך שמים | אף-לך ארץ  
 תבל ומלאה | אתה יסרתם  
 צפון וימין | אתה בראתם  
 תבור וחרמון | בשמך ירננו

In this strophe most of the lines disclose the caesura. There is no departure from the tetrameter movement except in the second line of the traditional text. This becomes tetrameter by taking יהוה from the following line, so that each line will have a divine name in the order אל , יהוה , אלהי צבאות .

## Strophe III.

לך זרוע | עם גבורה  
 תעז ירך | תרום ימינך  
 צדק ומשפט | מכת כסאך  
 חסד ואמת | יקדמו פניך  
 אשרי העם | ידעי תרועה  
 יהוה באור פניך יהלכך  
 בשמך יגילך | כל היום  
 ובצדקתך ירמו  
 כי-תפארת עזמו אתה  
 ובצרונך תרים קרנינו  
 כי ליהוה מגננו  
 ולקדוש ישראל מלכנו:

This strophe has tetrameter lines mostly with caesuras, until we come to the ninth line, which is a half line. This is followed by trimeters, preparing the way for the paraphrase.

## Strophe IV.

אז דברת בחזון  
 לחסידך ותאמר  
 שויתי עזר על-גבור  
 הרימותי בחור מעם  
 מצאתי רוד עברי  
 בשמן קדשי משחתיו  
 אשר-ידי תכון עמו  
 אף זרועי תאמצנו

The change of movement here is quite evident. It is obscured by the traditional text at the beginning, which reads

אז דברת בחזון לחסידך  
 ותאמר שויתי עזר על-גבור

This is quite possible. But a study of the strophe as a whole as compared with the following strophes urges to the division of lines that I have made. We now omit strophes 6-9 which are all trimeters and give

## Strophe X.

הרימות ימין צריו  
 השמחת כל אויביו  
 אף-תשיב צור חרבו  
 ולא הקמתו במלחמה  
 השבת מטהרו  
 וכסאו לארץ מגרתה  
 הקצרת ימי עלומיו  
 העטית עליו ברשה

This strophe has all trimeter lines except the single dimeter in line five.

## Strophe XI.

ער-מה יהוה | תסתר לנצח  
 תבער כמו אש חמתך  
 זכר אדני | מה חלד  
 על-מה שוא | בראת כל-בני-אדם



מִי־גִבֹּר יְהוָה | וְלֹא יִרְאֶה־מוֹת  
 יִמְלֹט נַפְשׁוֹ | מִיַּד שָׂאוֹל  
 אִי־הָ חֶסֶדְךָ הָרִאשׁוֹנִים אֲדֹנִי  
 נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְדוֹר בְּאֲמוֹנֶתְךָ  
 זָכַר אֲדֹנִי | חֲרַפְתָּ עַבְדֶּיךָ  
 שָׂאתִי בַחֲיָקִי | כָּל־רֵבִים עִמָּם  
 אֲשֶׁר הִרְפוּ אוֹיְבֶיךָ יְהוָה  
 אֲשֶׁר חֲרַפוּ עַקְבוֹת מִשִּׁיחֶךָ

This concluding strophe agrees with the three opening ones in being a tetrameter. Many of the lines disclose the caesuras. There is a textual change in line three, by inserting אֲדֹנִי instead of אֲנִי, in accordance with line nine. The eighth line is the only trimeter. This would become a tetrameter if we inserted אֲשֶׁר, the relative, as we must, indeed, in the translation. The אֲשֶׁר is used in lines eleven and twelve. One would expect it here rather than that the poet should neglect the regularity of his rhythm.

There are not so many tetrameters as trimeters and pentameters in Hebrew poetry. One of the finest specimens of the tetrameter is the Song of Deborah, which is divided into three parts, with three strophes and thirty lines in each part. These examples will be sufficient to indicate the various forms of the tetrameter. In the next number, I propose to give specimens of the pentameter.

## THE TEXT OF MICAH.\*

BY PROF. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D. D.,

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This is the first half of a new commentary on the book of Micah. The author, already favorably known for his work in Syriac, "found it advisable to separate from the commentary proper, all that should precede as preparatory work, especially the inquiry concerning the state of the text." He had in mind to present the text-critical material in its completeness, in order to base upon it a judgment of its value and some conclusions as to the method of Old Testament text-criticism in general. After a brief introduction and a sketch of the work already done in this regard, he therefore takes up the critical material, verse by verse, judging its value in each particular case. He then sketches at length "the results of the text-critical inquiry." This text-critical part occupies more than two-thirds of the book. The remainder is devoted to questions of literary criticism, with special reference to recent attacks upon the unity of the book.

As attention is directed, just now, to Old Testament text-criticism, this book is one of real importance; for it gathers and presents a considerable part at least of the material by which the text of the Book of Micah must be settled. "Two opinions," are the author's opening words, "belong to the axioms of recent Old Testament exegesis: that the text of Micah's prophecies is a corrupt text, and that in the ancient versions we have the means of correcting it." Without discussing the use of the word axiom, these two propositions are certainly very widely held; and the present reviewer at least is fully convinced of their truth. Let any one who is fairly familiar with Hebrew try to read the book—say especially chs. I. and II.—and he will be driven to the conclusion that the text has suffered materially in transmission. The alternative is to suppose that the prophet could not express his thoughts grammatically in his own language. The text being admitted to be corrupt, it follows, of course, that the ancient versions give us the material for correction *so far as correction is possible*. Conjecture, to be sure, remains; but conjecture can offer no evidence except intrinsic probability as it presents itself to a single mind.

Professor Ryssel now thinks the former proposition exaggerated, and the latter erroneous. In regard to the former we will not dispute with him—corruption may be more or less. He actually concedes some amount of it himself. But

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\* Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micah, von Lic. Dr. Victor Ryssel, a. o. Prof. an d. Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: Hirzel. 1887. viii and 284 pages. 8vo.

it is nothing less than a misfortune that such a scholar should take out a brief against the assertion that we have in the versions a help to the correction of the text. If he proves his point, he leaves the corruption (which he admits, in small measure at least) incurable. In fact he does himself concede some instances where the versions have preserved a better reading, and these concessions alone invalidate his argument. It would have been better had he not set out to do so much. The greater part of his book is not really an argument against any use of the versions, but an argument against a vicious use of them. In this respect it has real value. If the criticism of the Old Testament text is ever to be a science, it must be conducted on fixed principles, and these principles must be settled by thorough discussion. Professor Ryssel's discussion is thorough and candid; and although I think him biased in favor of the Massoretic text, I think his arguments must be carefully weighed. It seems to me the argument would have been put in better shape had it been in the form of a critical text with an *apparatus*. It doubtless labors under a disadvantage also in appearing without the expository part of the commentary.

The author's general remarks on the method of using a version as a source for its text, contain much that is good. It is no doubt true that a version may be too mechanically translated back into the language from which it was made, and so may be made to render variants that never existed. It is true also that "each language has its own characteristic modes of expression," for which allowance must be made. That the LXX., for example, renders a singular by a plural does not necessarily show that they had a plural form before them. When they supply the object or subject so often omitted by the Hebrew, it does not always prove that they had a different text from ours. But while allowance should be made for these things, too much must not be made. The question in each case is one of probability. In Mic. iv. 2, for example, we have in the M. T. **לכו ונעלה**, the LXX. reads *deûte ἀναβῶμεν*. Ryssel says that the omission of the conjunction is intentional, because the translators took **לכו** as an interjection. But is it not more simple to suppose that a **ו** has been omitted or inserted in one of the two Hebrew texts, especially in immediate proximity to another **ו** as here? The question, as I say, is one of probabilities; and I suspect that one who knows the many chances of error which beset a scribe, will find it generally more probable that one of these chances has influenced the text, than that the translators made more or less intentional changes in what they were trying to render.

It is necessary to keep two things apart: first, the collection of variants; second, the selection of the true reading. Every one will agree with our author when he says that to ascertain the existence of a different reading from the one current with the Massoretes, is not to show that that reading is the true one. Of course not; but to make the comparison we need all the variants fairly before us. Prof. Ryssel minimizes the quantity of these to his utmost ability.

He seems to go on the principle that, if by any ingenuity or refinement (perverse or otherwise), the translators could possibly have twisted the text into the meaning they give, we must not assume that their text was different from ours. For example, he ascribes to the versions frequent alterations on account of the parallelism. But when we reflect that the parallelism of members is by no means one of the prominent features of Micah's style, and that, even in the Hebrew poetry, attention has been directed to it, so far as we know, only within the last hundred years, we must feel that he is ascribing to the translators more knowledge than they actually possessed. The simple alternative here also is to suppose that the original parallelism has often been obscured by the carelessness of scribes.

In order to admit as few variants as possible, the author makes many assertions in regard to the versions which are not susceptible of proof, and where the possibility at least always remains that a variation in text existed. It would have been better to err the other way, and to have counted the possible variant. At the risk of becoming tedious, I wish to consider some of these assertions. At the very beginning we find: "The LXX. changed the opening words **דבר יהוה** אשר היה, choosing the more historical phrase which is very common in the Old Testament (**יהוה דבר יהוה**)." He adds: "The LXX. *certainly* had the ordinary text before them." The evidence is *certainly* the other way; and if an intentional change has been made, it is more probably one that conformed the opening words to the ordinary title, than the reverse. In 1. 2 we have **כלם**, for which the LXX. gives *λόγους*—"It is most probable that the translator inserted *λόγους*, which he thought to be necessary.....and then neglected **כלם**, especially as he translates the following **ומלאה** loosely by *καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ*." But the difference between the two cases is world-wide; the second case is a fairly exact translation, the former is no translation at all. Even if the author's ingenious hypothesis could be proved true, it would still leave us a variant; for the testimony of the LXX. would be against the existence of **כלם** at all.

In 1. 5 the common text has: "For the transgression of Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel. Who is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and who is the *high places* of Judah? is it not Jerusalem?" The word **במות** (*high places*) is, to say the least, surprising. The LXX. has *ἀμαρτία οἴκον*. Ryssel remarks (p. 15): "Although the LXX. and Peshitto translate as though they read **חטאת**, yet this hypothesis is not *absolutely necessary*, because this translation may be explained on the theory that perfect parallelism was aimed at. ....From the translation of the Targumist who paraphrases (Where have *sinned*—**חטו**—those of the house of Judah?), on the other hand, we may conclude that the reading **חטאת** was found in MSS. along with the reading of the text. ....That two [Hebrew] MSS. have **ומי חטאת** on the margin is of no importance whatever." As will be seen, the author will decide against the M. T. only in case of absolute necessity, ignoring again the fact that textual criticism is a

matter of probabilities. On the side of חטאת, we have LXX., Peshitto and the Targum; for as between the two readings in question, the Targum certainly favors this one. While now we may suppose Peshitto influenced by LXX., the Targum is entirely independent of it. We have the concurrence of two witnesses against one, and even that one has traces of the original reading in the marginal notes cited by Prof. Ryssel. Prof. Ryssel argues against the probability of כמות being a corruption of חטאת. But it is probably not a case of derivation of one of these from the other, but of כמות from בית, which is testified by the two principal witnesses, LXX. and Targum.

In 1. 10 we read בנת אל תגידו, for which LXX. has *οἱ ἐν Γὰρ μὴ μεγαλύνεσθε*, which, of course, points to תגדילו. The Peshitto reads *rejoice not* (תגילו). Yet Prof. Ryssel says "it can scarcely be supposed that the translators found these readings in their text." How we can suppose anything else is difficult to see; תגיד is a very common word, with which, therefore, the translators were perfectly familiar. Considered by itself, the phrase in which it occurs is perfectly intelligible, the translators had no need to improve it by conjecture. In fact, we can think of no reason why they should translate as they did, except that they read in their text the words they respectively rendered. Dr. Ryssel suggests that it is a case of indistinct or faded writing, in which they were obliged to guess at the word. But if this is so, it does not authorize the conclusion that "תגידו is certainly the only correct reading." The existence of three variants makes the supposition of indistinct writing very plausible; but if this be assumed, why should the latest reading of all (as to its testimony) be assumed to be original? The author asserts that the words are borrowed from 2 Sam. i. 20; but how does he know that? Would not a scribe be influenced by that passage to change this one *into* conformity with that, rather than the other way? These questions show, I think, that Prof. Ryssel has not clearly thought out the process of manuscript transmission.

The very difficult passage, beginning with this verse, gives occasion for discussion in almost every word, and the text is evidently corrupt—perhaps hopelessly so. Ryssel discusses the variant readings (or variant translations) at considerable length, and gives on every page evidence of his learning and industry. But his results as to the correction of the text are the same as above. He gets no real help from the versions. We shall be curious to see what he will make of these verses in the positive and constructive part of the commentary. In contrast with his conservatism as regards the use of the versions is the freedom with which he occasionally uses conjectural emendation. In regard to the words last discussed (verse 10a) he says (p. 22) "all these facts lead to the conjecture that the words were originally written on the margin to point out that the paronomasiae of the following verse were constructed on the scheme" of 2 Sam. i. 20. In like manner the following three words "are to be erased as spurious." Two

thirds of a verse then are erased on supposed internal evidence alone, against the testimony (to their existence at least) of all the versions; while the testimony of the versions, however strong, is not admitted.<sup>1</sup>

The author's method is, perhaps, sufficiently characterized by the examples already given. It is, at any rate, fairly represented by them. Everywhere he finds that a different reading (from the M. T.) "can scarcely be thought of" (p. 43); he finds that the difference in the versions "only shows that they tried, with more or less success, to understand and render the text" (p. 53); "the LXX. *changed* the plural masculine into the feminine singular, because they had in mind the people of Israel" (p. 55); "the translation of the LXX. *of course* [natürlich] does not go back to a different reading" (p. 58); "it is easily seen that the LXX. thought necessary to read כִּשְׂאֵר instead of כִּאֲשֵׁר, while the converse is not supposable" [undenkbar] (p. 62); in v. 3 the LXX. perversely "inserted an *and* (in one place) because they began a new sentence, and omitted the ׀ before שֶׁנֶּכְרִי because they joined this to the preceding words; here, then, the LXX. seem to have the M. T. before them" (p. 85). This example is instructive enough to dwell upon a moment. The pivotal point is in the words אֱלֹהֵיוּ וְיִשְׁכְּנוּ, where LXX. omit ׀. As will be seen, the preceding word ends in the same letter. In such a case the insertion by error is more probable than the omission. Add to this that the structure of the verse is more regular without this *and*:

"And he shall stand and pasture in the strength of Jehovah,  
In the glory of the name of his God they shall dwell;  
For now he shall be great unto the ends of the earth."

Certainly one would say, if the admission of the versions is ever allowable, it is allowable here, not only as testifying to the existence of a variant, but as having preserved the original reading and construction.

Without giving a number of similar assertions which I have marked, allow me to notice what I suppose to be the root of the difficulty—a lack of clearness as to the origin and value of the Massoretic text. Of course I do not desire to undervalue that text, and have always guarded myself against extravagant statements of its faults. That it has faults is now generally admitted. Prof. Ryssel's statements lead logically to the conclusion that it has no faults; or if it has any, that we are powerless to correct them. In one place he uses the following language: "The text [of the LXX.] is more corrupt than the Massoretic, and this is explained by the fact that, at the time when the Greek translation was prepared (third century B. C.), as yet no care had been given the Bible text, and no firm tradition had arisen concerning the text and the exposition—such tradition as by then existing

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ryssel rejects the current translation of כִּכְו (= כִּכְו in Akko), on the ground that Micah has a distinct geographical situation in eye, naming only Judaite localities. He does not recognize (or does not state) that a reading found in some MSS. of the LXX.—Εμβανειν would point to a Judaite locality—Bochim.

means was able to collect valuable material which benefited the later versions. Besides, the numerous variations of the LXX. are explained, not properly by a different type of text, but by imperfect comprehension of it. This was the immediate consequence of the fact that the text was less exactly fixed, in that, besides the vocalization (which indeed was later than the other versions, but was partially replaced by the Jewish tradition), the vowel letters were frequently lacking; and further, the familiarity with the contents of the biblical books, and even the knowledge of Hebrew, since it was no longer a spoken language, certainly did not stand as high as later, in the time of the Jewish academies in Palestine, and again in Babylonia, which [academies] assisted the fixation of the text by vocalization, probably also the targumic and Syriac translators, certainly [*nachweisbar*] also Jerome" (p. 185).

I think I have rendered this sentence with tolerable correctness, though I confess it does not seem perfectly clear. The question it raises is this—Has the author any clear idea of the origin of the M. T.? He speaks of that text as fixed by tradition at the time of the vocalization by the Massoretes. He knows that at an earlier period the text was not yet fixed in this way, and was less furnished with vowel letters. Now it would seem to be obvious that the later fixation cannot claim any advantages over the earliest unfixed text, except as a commentary is an advantage. The commentary tells us what are its author's views of his text—the punctuation tells us what its authors *supposed* to be the meaning of the text. In neither case can we be excused from ourselves going back to the (consonantal) original, and consulting every other commentator (such are the early versions also), giving preference to the one which on internal grounds best interprets his author. Prof. Ryssel says that the Old Testament books went through a time when the text was less carefully treated than later. In that period it suffered corruption. Later the Jewish scribes treated it with greater care and fixed it in its present form. But what was it that they so carefully fixed and preserved for us? Evidently a text which had been previously corrupted. But where it was corrupt had they any certain means of restoring its earlier state? Evidently not. For it is one of the axioms of the text-criticism that the original reading can be restored when preserved in *one* of the various readings in our possession. Text-criticism as a science must work with variants, and these notoriously the Massoretic editors had not. The most these editors could do was to hand down the text as it came to them, without further change. Their fixation of the text embodied a tradition also which had confessedly grown up *after* the time of careless transmission. Such a tradition has doubtless great value, but its value is secondary to the earlier tradition embodied in the LXX. The earlier in point of time must be better. According to Prof. Ryssel the later MSS. of the New Testament must be the most valuable. In them, too, we have a text fixed by tradition. But it has long

been recognized that the tradition must be disregarded, and that the earliest documents have the greatest weight.

It seems then that our author labors under a false impression in the weight he gives to the M. T. This is perhaps indicated also by his respect for Jewish "authorities." In one case we have a verb now pointed as Piel, which three of the versions give as Pual. The reading as Pual is found also in Hebrew MSS. (nine in number) and editions. In favor of the Piel as *original and correct reading* (says Prof. R.) we have the best authorities (cf. Norzi), Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Ibn Ganach and others. How these authorities knew the *original* reading is the question. That their reading is correct, according to the decision of the punctuators, is a very different matter.

One other point may be briefly mentioned. Prof. Ryssel gives rules for the criticism of the Old Testament text. The third of these rules lays emphasis upon the commonplace that the more difficult reading is to be preferred. It is greatly to be regretted that the author did not more carefully analyze some cases, in order to show us what he understands by the more difficult reading. The reading which gives us nonsense is really more difficult than another which makes sense; the ungrammatical reading is more difficult than the grammatical. The fact is, the rule has only a qualified value. It applies to one class of cases—where a less common word has been replaced by one more familiar. Here it is intrinsically probable that the more familiar word has taken the place of the other. But these cases are not a majority by any means. The corruptions of the text which arise from a scribe's carelessness (interchange of similar letters, homeoteleuton, repetition of letters, omission of words), from the influence upon his mind of parallel or similar passages, and from the illegibility of MSS.—these make up a considerable majority, and in regard to these the canon is of no use. If we are to have a general rule, it ought to be stated in the form given it by Westcott and Hort—"That reading is original which will account for the existence of the others."

The space already occupied will not allow me to consider Prof. Ryssel's essay on the genuineness of the Book of Micah. The length of this notice will testify to my interest in the subject of text-criticism and his discussion.



## THE NESTORIAN RITUAL OF THE WASHING OF THE DEAD.

BY ISAAC H. HALL,

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One of the manuscripts recently acquired by the Union Theological Seminary in New York, consists of "The Service of Obsequies;" or, as stated in the colophon, "The Order of the Obsequies of Every Class, Men, Women, Youths, and All Ages and All Conditions." It treats of each class separately, giving rituals and rubrics, sometimes merely referring to other books for the words of a Scripture passage, a dirge, a response, etc., and sometimes giving them at length. The manuscript is on paper, 148 leaves (296 pages), in *quiniones*, bound in heavy boards covered with leather, but now somewhat dilapidated. Size of book, 9 x 7 1/2 inches; of written page, 6 x 4 1/4 inches; about 19 lines to the page, running clear across, or in only one column. It is written in a beautiful Nestorian script, pretty fully pointed, with abundant rubrication, and somewhat ornamented here and there. The book was finished, as the colophon says, in the year of the Greeks 2046, on the 5th day of the month of Ab, on the 4th Tuesday of Summer; which corresponds to Tuesday, August 5th, A. D. 1735. It was written in Targawar, in the village of Darband, by Priest Warda, son of the late Lazarus, one of the sons of Mar John, bishop of Adorbigan.

At the beginning of the book is the "Ritual (or Custom) of the Washing of the Departed," which has proved so interesting to those who have heard it translated, that it seems proper to send a copy of the text and a translation to HEBRAICA. In copying the text, most of the points are omitted, since the matter is clear enough without them. The following is the text. It occupies a few lines over three pages of the manuscript.

[illegible]



וְאֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַיָּמִים מִיָּמֵינוּ . אִם בְּנֶפֶשׁ מִיָּמֵינוּ . אִם בְּנֶפֶשׁ מִיָּמֵינוּ .  
 מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ לְהַיָּדֵם מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ לְהַיָּדֵם .  
 מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ .  
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 מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ .  
 מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ . שֶׁנֶּחֱמָה לָּהּ מִיָּמֵינוּ .

## TRANSLATION.

“In the name of the Living One who dieth not, we write the Ritual of the Washing of the Departed.

“1st. They set towards the East the face of the departed, and when they require to wash him, they sign him between the eyes [*idiomatic for on the forehead*] with the sign of the cross. Next they wash his head and his face and his whole neck as far as his back [i. e., the back of the neck at its base], according to the Redemptive Word [referring to another part of the Ritual]. And then they wash his right hand as far as its elbow, also his left hand in like manner. Next they make him sit, and dash water upon his right shoulder, and they wash his whole side as far as to his knees; in like manner also his left side. Next they lay him upon the spine of his back, and wash his bed [unless *חַבְדָּה* is a mistake for *חַבְדָּה* his “belly”], and all his members. And then they lay him upon his face, and wash his feet from the knees downward. And then they make him sit, and take water in a platter, and dash it upon his head three times, and they clothe him in white garments, as in the days of his wedding.

“But if he be a monk, they do not in that manner, but they wash first from his head as far as his back [see above]. Then they wash his right hand as far as its elbow, and his left hand likewise. But they do not strip off his [monk’s] garment from his body, but they dash water upon the garment outside, and the one

who is washing him rubs his garment upon his body on all sides, until the water [runs off] very clear. Next they wash his feet downward from his knees. Then those who are present go out, and a familiar friend [*lit.*, and he who has boldness toward him] remains with him in his place, and, after his fellows have gone out, strips him of his clothing, and dresses him in other clothing. But it is not right for him to bring in a cross with him, not at all, by any means; that he may not follow the fashion of those who covered up our Lord's cross [*i. e.*, the worldly hypocrites].

"And know this, too, that in the rank in which he used to go to the altar while living, in that [rank] they shall let him enter the grave. If he were a monk, without grade to go in to the altar, according to the rank of his monkhood let them thus bring him in. But if he be one out of many, a light, according as he used to stand in the service of the church, let them thus bring him to the grave.

"And while they are washing the departed, whoever he may be, they say over him the *mauthbhê* (*i. e.*, *kathisma*) of the washing, performing it in the house of the departed, or upon the roofs, or if they have no place, in the church; according as it is written in the Order of the Departed.

"And when they carry him out, they begin the *qalê* of the way, and let his head be foremost, as it were leaving peace to the household. And when they go out from the village, they put the bier in a pure place, and they perform fully three '*ûnîn*. Then they take him up and bear him, with *qalê* and *shûchlâphê*, and the priests and the people preceding him, until they come beside the grave.

"And when they begin the *qala* of the approach, *Maran athâ*, they make the bier pass first, and the priests and people after the bier, until they come to the grave. And they lay the departed on the right hand side of the grave, the priests remaining at his feet with their faces toward the grave.

"And when they have finished from the *paşôqâ* three '*ûnîn*, they lower the departed into the grave. And when the *paşôqâ* is ended, the priest throws a little dust in the grave, but not in the form of a cross, as foolish people do; and they bury completely the dead. And pray [*ye*] for the sinner."

Respecting the technical terms which I have not translated above, the *mauthbhê*, "sessions," "seats," is equivalent to the Greek *kathisma*, meaning originally that part of the service during which the people sat. The *qala*, "voice," and the *shûchlâpha*, "variation," are respectively the prayer or hymn, generally the latter, and the sentiment used in connection or in alternation with it; or, perhaps "chant" is a better rendering for both. The "qala of the way" is, in effect, a processional chant. The '*ûnaiâ* (plural in this MS., '*ûnaiîn*) is an anthem with responses, or antiphonal. The *paşôqa* appears to be the "conclusion;" varying greatly for different classes of people, and comprehending several divisions which bear some of the names above given,

along with others. These technical terms would be better understood if there were space enough to introduce a few samples.

The text above given is repeated piecemeal, in the shape of rubrics, at the appropriate places in the manuscript, except that which relates strictly to the washing, which occurs nowhere else in the book.

The ritual for the burial of *priests* was translated into English, and published by the Rev. George Percy Badger, in his "The Nestorians and their Rituals." In another connection he mentions the fact that directions for the washing are given ; but does not translate them.

## ON THE SEPARATION WHICH MAY TAKE PLACE BETWEEN THE SO-CALLED DEFINED AND DEFINING NOUN IN ARABIC.<sup>1</sup>

Philippi defines the *grammatical nature* of the construct state in Semitic languages as follows:

"It is connecting, in the closest possible manner, one word with another, and shows itself in the one following the other immediately and inseparably, in the shortening of the first noun, and in the fact that, when the second noun is defined, the first is also defined by it."

The shortening of the first noun is shown in Arabic by the loss of the Tenwin; in Hebrew, by vowel shortening. To show the effect of the defining force of the second noun upon the first, the following example may be adduced. If I want to say, in Semitic languages, "a daughter of the king," defining king, but leaving daughter undefined, I cannot use the construct state; e. g., **بِنْتُ الْمَلِكِ** can only mean "the king's only daughter," or "the king's daughter to whom we have referred." "A daughter of the king" must be rendered **بِنْتُ لِلْمَلِكِ** "a daughter to the king." With respect to the point upon which Philippi justly lays stress—"inseparable and immediate sequence"—there are some remarkable exceptions in Arabic. Such exceptions come under the category of the **فَصْلٌ** "separation" which takes place between the **مُضَافٌ** "attached word," "first word," and the **مُضَافٌ إِلَيْهِ** "word to which it is attached," "second word." Reference is made to these cases of separation in Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. II., § 90. It may, however, be interesting to the readers of *HEBRAICA* to see how the matter is treated by a native grammarian. The following is a translation from the celebrated "Watch-fire" **نَارُ الْقَرْيَةِ** of the late Nasif Al-Yazigi:

### I.

**وَفَصْلٌ مَفْعُولِ الْمُضَافِ مُطْلَقًا أَوْ ظَرْفِهِ بِهِ اخْتِيَارًا نَطْقًا**

"And generally the separation by the **مَفْعُولِ** of the **مُضَافِ** or by its **ظَرْفِ** 'noun of time or place' may be used freely."

<sup>1</sup> The name of the author of this article has been lost. It will be announced in a later number.

That is to say, that in the Arabic language cases occur of the separation of the **مُضَافٌ** from the **إِلَيْهِ** **مُضَافٌ** by means of the object of the **مُضَافٌ** or its accompanying noun of time and place. And this is the real annexation.<sup>1</sup>

**إِلِصَافَةُ الْمَعْنَوِيَّةِ** occurs when the **مُضَافٌ** is a **مَصْدَرٌ** and the **إِلَيْهِ** **مُضَافٌ** is its **فَاعِلٌ**. With respect to separation by the **مَفْعُولٌ** or object we find the following line of the Ragiz:

يَفْرُقُ حَبَّ السَّنْبِلِ الْكُنَافِجِ بِالْقَاعِ فَرَكَ الْفُطْنَ الْمَحَالِجِ

“He cuts down the grains of the full ears in the fields as the Mihlags cut down the cotton.” That is to say,

فَرَكَ الْمَحَالِجِ الْفُطْنَ

As an example of separation by means of the **ظَرْفٌ** we have the words of the poet:

لَمَّا رَأَتْ شَانِكَ اسْتَعْبَرَتْ لِلَّهِ دَرَّ أَلْيَوْمَ مَنْ لَامَهَا

“After she had seen him who hated thee she burst into tears. What a man is he who to-day rebuked her!” That is to say,

لِلَّهِ دَرَّ مَنْ لَامَهَا أَلْيَوْمَ

And in the merely verbal annexation (**إِلِصَافَةُ اللَّفْظِيَّةِ**) the **مُضَافٌ** when a *nomen agentis* is separated from one of its objects (the **إِلَيْهِ** **مُضَافٌ**) by another of its objects, as in the saying,

مَا زَالَ يُوقِنُ مَنْ يَأْمُكَ بِالْغِنَى وَسِوَاكَ مَانِعُ فَضْلِهِ الْمُحْتَاجُ

“And he who approaches thee is certain of riches, while others than thou withhold their benefits from the needy.” That is to say,

مَانِعُ الْمُحْتَاجِ فَضْلَهُ

Or the **فَضْلٌ** in such an annexation can take place by means of the **ظَرْفٌ**, as in the saying of another,

أَرِشْنِي بِخَيْرٍ لَا أَكُونَنَّ وَمَذَحَتِي كَنَاحَتِ يَوْمًا صَخْرَةً بِعَسِيلٍ

“Satisfy me with good, that I may not become with my eulogy like him who one day chiselled a stone with a broom.” That is to say,

<sup>1</sup> Wright's Arabic Grammar.

### كَتَّاحِتِ صَخْرَةٍ يَوْمًا

And you already know that an attracted word (مَجْرُورٌ), with the particle which attracts it, is in every respect like the tsarfūn, and through this we have the saying of the poet,

هُمَا أَخَوَا فِي الْحَرْبِ مَنْ لَا أَخَا لَهُ، إِذَا خَافَ يَوْمًا نَبْوَةً فَدَعَاهُم

“These too are the brothers in battle of him who has no brother; when he fears on any day a blow from the sword he calls upon them.” And the saying of another,

لَأَنْتَ مُعْتَانٌ فِي الْهَيْجَا مُصَابِرَةٌ تُصَلِّي بِهَا كُلُّ مَنْ عَادَاكَ نِيرَانًا

“Behold, thou art accustomed to patience in the battle; thou burnest with it whoever opposes fires to thee.”

And all this may be used freely, in opposition to him who says that it can only be employed بِالضَّرُورَةِ to satisfy poetical requirements. (Here Al-Yazigi agrees with Th. Malic in his Alfiyya.) Moreover, it occurs in prose نَتَرٌ. We have the reading of some,

وَزَنَّ لِكَثِيرٍ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ قَتْلُ أَوْلَادِهِمْ شَرَكَائِهِمْ

“And the killing of their children by their companions was made to seem good to many idolaters.”

فَلَا تَخْشَبَنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْلِفَ وَعْدِهِ رُسُلِهِ

“And do not think that God changes his promise to his apostles.”

And the saying of some of the Arabs,

تَرَكُ يَوْمًا نَفْسِكَ وَهَوَاهَا سَعْيٌ لَهَا فِي رَدَاهَا

“Leaving the soul alone one day with its desires is an advance towards its destruction.”

And they allow a separation to take place by means of an oath, as Alkisāe relates, according to one reading,

هَذَا غُلَامٌ وَاللَّهِ زَيْدٌ

“This, by God, is the slave of Zaid.”

An oath (قَسَمٌ) is of the essence of a tsarfūn, since it is an attracting word (جَارٌ) with its attracted word, and separation is easy by means of it when the mudafūn has no مَعْمُولٌ. And know that this separation is restricted to



those cases where the mudaf 'ilahi is not a pronoun; for then of necessity the two must be joined together, and faslun is impossible. Separation has also taken place when the mudafun is a مَصْدَر and the mudafun 'ilahi its object by means of the agent of the مَصْدَر, according to the saying of the poet,

مَا إِذْ رَأَيْنَا لِلْهَوَى مِنْ طِبِّ وَلَا عَدِمْنَا قَهْرَ وَجْدٍ صَبِّ

"We have not seen a medicine for love, nor have we lost a lover who has been conquered by passion."<sup>1</sup>

مَنْعَ النَّاسِ كَافَّةً مِنْ مُخَاطَبَتِهِ أَحَدٌ بِسَيِّدِنَا .

This, however, is peculiar to poets, the opposite of the separation between the masdar and its agent, examples of which we have already had. For the failun virtually precedes; and if verbally it follows, it is still as if the mudafun were inserted with its failun.

## II.

وَالْفَصْلُ بِالنَّعْتِ اضْطِرَّارًا وَالنَّدَا . قَدْ جَاءَ وَالْكُلُّ قَلِيلًا وَرَدًا

"And the separation by an adjective may be employed when poetical necessity demands it, and a vocative also occurs for a like purpose; but both are seldom used."

As an illustration of faslun by means of an epithet, we have,

نَجَوْتُ وَقَدْ بَدَأَ الْمَرَادِيُّ سَيْفَهُ . مِنْ ابْنِ أَبِي شَيْخٍ الْأَبَاطِحِ طَالِبِ

"I escaped, but Al-Maradi had already welshed his sword from the son of Abu Talib, the chief of the valleys."

That is to say,

مِنْ ابْنِ أَبِي طَالِبِ شَيْخِ الْأَبَاطِحِ

And by means of a vocative, as in the saying of another one,

وَقَاتُ كَعْبُ بُجَيْرٍ مُنْقَذٌ لَكَ مِنْ تَعْجِيلِ تَهْلِكَةٍ وَالْخُلْدِ فِي سَقَرٍ

"The agreement by Caab with Bujair saves thee from the hastening of destruction and from remaining forever in hell."

That is to say,

وَقَاتُ بُجَيْرٍ يَا كَعْبُ

Both of these are said to be بالضرورة; for neither the phrase شيخ الأباطيح

nor the vocative كعب is a مَعْبُول to the madafun.

<sup>1</sup> Irrespective of the faslun the construction in this sentence is not easy. See for illustration of it Wright, II., § 27b, 3, p. 60:—

The *faslun* can also take place by means of a condition, as in the saying of some,

هَذَا غُلَامٌ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ أَحِيكَ

"This, if it please God, is the slave of thy brother."

And also by means of an extraneous *maf'ul* or *tsarf*, as in the words of the poet,

تَسْقِي أَمْتِيَا حَا نِدَى الْبِسْوَاكِ رِيْقَتِهَا كَمَا تَضَنَّ مَاءُ الْمُنَّةِ الرَّصْفُ

"She waters generously her toothbrush with the moisture of her saliva, just as the Rasaf holds back the water of the mountain."

Or the saying of another,

كَمَا خُطَّ الْكِتَابُ بِكَفِّ يَوْمًا يَهُودِيٍّ يُقَارِبُ أَوْزِيلُ

"Just as a book was written one day by the hand of a Jew, writing the lines nearer or farther from one another."

In the first instance the general order would be,

تَسْقِي الْبِسْوَاكِ نِدَى رِيْقَتِهَا

In the second instance the order would be,

بَكَفِّ يَهُودِيٍّ يَوْمًا

The *faslun*, however, is little in use, and its imitation is to be avoided, *وَهُوَ نَافِرٌ فِي الْقِيَاسِ*; for the *mudafun* 'ilaihi is really part and parcel of the *mudafun*; and therefore *faslun* between them is strange, except that the *faslun* by means of *ma'mulun* is easier owing to the connection between it and its agent. Therefore they have permitted this extensively.

## TWO CRUCES INTERPRETUM, PS. XLV. 7 and DEUT. XXXIII. 21, REMOVED.<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR GIESEBRECHT,

Greifswald.

### I. PSALM XLV. 7.

The following exposition has, perhaps, a general interest because the passage belongs, on account of the use made of it in Heb. i. 8, 9, to the more familiar ones of the Old Testament. Now, in reference to the following verse, the view is already somewhat prevalent that it is altogether false to translate by addressing the (messianic?) king, "Therefore hath anointed thee, O God! thy God," etc. For, in this and the remaining so-called Elohim Psalms, the original יהוה has been corrected by a reviser to אלהים, and the original text accordingly read, "Therefore hath anointed thee Jahve, thy God," etc.

This consideration has led me to an easy and, as I believe, also correct emendation of the previous verse, which the Epistle to the Hebrews translates, according to the LXX., "Thy throne, O God, endureth from everlasting to everlasting." It seems to me that there is no doubt that (as also Olshausen asserts) *grammatically* the translation of the LXX. is the only correct one, and would have to be unconditionally accepted if there did not arise against it the weightiest *material* difficulties. When Hupfeld, over against this, takes אלהים as a genitive to כסא, and regards this construction as entirely unobjectionable, it appears to me that, in this case, this philologist, at other times so skillful, showed some human weakness. Aug. Müller, on the contrary, expresses himself in his *Hebr. Schulgrammatik*, p. 225, rightly with caution on the construction here accepted by Hupfeld, according to which a suffix can enter between the construct state and its genitive. The proofs cited for this by Ewald and others, all succumb to well-grounded objections; cf. the LXX. to Ps. LXXI. 7 and Lev. XXVI. 42; the text of Cornill to Ez. XVI. 27; the parallel verse, Ps. XVIII. 33, to 2 Sam. XXII. 33, for Lev. VI. 3; the old versions, etc. The forced conjectures which Olshausen has made for the correction of this difficult passage, have no real positive value, but only the negative import of pointing out the seat of the evil. Olshausen rightly misses a verb.

Starting from these facts, I venture the following conjecture:

1. As often in the Elohim Psalms, so here also אלהים has been written by a reviser to take the place of a יהוה.

<sup>1</sup> Translated from *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Hft. 2, 1887, pp. 290-293.

2. Yet he erred in his zeal to remove the unpronounceable name of God, and corrected a יהיה instead of a יהוה into אלהים.

3. If, accordingly, the text originally read, כסאך יהיה עולם ועד, there is here not only the removal of אלהים, but also the addition of a verb.

4. This reading is supported by a parallel passage, 2 Sam. vii. 16, כסאך יהיה נכון עד-עולם; cf. Lam. v. 19. For the use of עולם as simple accusative there may be compared Ps. XLVIII. 15; LII. 10; LXI. 8; LXVI. 7; LXXXIX. 2, 3, 38; CIV. 5.

## II. DEUT. XXXIII. 21.

The following conjecture, which I had already made several years ago, I publish chiefly because I learn from Dillmann's latest commentary on Deuteronomy that this investigator, unfavorable as he is to conjectural criticism, is himself here induced to make an emendation, and indeed exactly at the same word where I also regard an emendation necessary, but where I, on the ground of the LXX., dare to go yet further. Of course I do not mean that I have herewith placed the passage beyond dispute; but I regard as right the way which I have taken to correct it. The difficulty of the M. T. is, on the one hand, in ספון, and on the other, in the succeeding words ויתא ראשי עם. The difficulties of these need, among the friends of the Old Testament, no detailed statement.

If now there is anything clear, it seems to me this, that the LXX. did not know our text. If at least ἀρχόντων, as is generally accepted, is to be a translation of מחקק, then the following συνηγμένοι ἄμα is evidently not = ספון ויתא, and Dillmann is certainly right in his conclusion. Now it seems possible to me to get the LXX. text with the greatest ease by transposition of ספון; quoting it with its vowel signs it reads, ויתאספון ראשי עם = and the heads of the people assembled themselves.

The advantages of this are evident. The senseless ספון disappears; we gain at once the simplest explanation for the anomalous ויתא and at the same time the most beautiful agreement in number between ראשים and its verb. Of course the words now form a direct allusion to Num. XXXII., to the solemn assembly of the heads of the people in which the possession of the Jordan was allotted to Gad.

In the preceding part of the sentence, the LXX. restored, indeed, the subject according to the sense, by means of οτι ἐκεῖ ἐμερίσθη γῆ. Yet, out of their text, we can get with certainty a חלקה for חלקת. Referring מחקק to Moses, we then get either שם חלקה מחקק, where the direct object of שם, following of itself from the context, would be omitted:

“And he chose for himself the first part [viz., the land east of the Jordan];  
For this the leader appointed for his inheritance  
When the heads of the people assembled themselves.”

Or we might read **בִּי שֵׁם חֵלְקָה מְחַקֵּק**, changing **מְחַקֵּק**:

“And he chose for himself the first part [the land east of the Jordan];  
For there his portion was assigned him  
When the heads of the people assembled themselves.”

Of course the sentence **וַיִּתְּאֶסְפוּ רֹאשֵׁי עַם**, still follows up somewhat disconnectedly on that which precedes. I therefore leave open, as a further possibility, the assumption of erasing it altogether as a gloss, pointing to Num. xxxiii., and resting on verse 5, **עַם בְּהִתְאָסֵף רֹאשֵׁי עַם**. Then the following: “He executed the justice of Jahve with Israel,”—would fitly unite with the first half of the verse, which reports that a prominent portion was allotted to him.

At all events, it seems to me that, by following this conjecture, the fearful groping and essaying with **סָפֹן** and **וִיתָא**, which one meets with in all expositions, will cease.

## THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORDS IN THE HEBREW NOMINAL SENTENCE.<sup>1</sup>

BY C. ALBRECHT.

All languages distinguish between verbal and nominal sentences, according to the different parts of speech which can form a predicate. The former is a sentence in which the subject is (virtually) a noun and the predicate a finite verb; the latter is a sentence in which the subject, as well as the predicate, are (virtually) nouns. When such virtual nouns, in the position of subject or predicate, are represented by independent sentences, we have a compound sentence. Accordingly, the difference in the kinds of sentences rests on the different parts of speech in the predicate. As nouns can indicate only rest, continuance, fixedness, etc.; and verbs, motion, action, development; so the nominal sentence describes, or gives to the subject, an abiding attribute or condition; and the verbal sentence expresses a movement or the development of an action, or say a condition (in case of neuter verbs).<sup>2</sup> In reference to the arrangement of the words in the simple nominal sentence, which has not been accurately indicated in any grammar of the Hebrew language, but, on the contrary, often even falsely stated, I have, in comparison with the Arabic and Aramaic, arranged tables which embrace the entire Old Testament.

The result of it is as follows:—In the nominal sentence the chief emphasis rests on the subject, and the chief interest attaches to it as the object which is thought of as being in a position or condition or as provided with an attribute. The regular arrangement of the words in the nominal sentence of all Semitic languages is, therefore, subject-predicate; not regarding, of course, the arrangement of words in poetry, which here, as in most languages, takes more license. In Arabic this rule is more easily recognized, and has therefore, generally speaking, been always rightly understood; but in Hebrew and Aramaic it is

<sup>1</sup> Translated from *Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Hft. 2, 1887, pp. 218-224.

<sup>2</sup> In this definition of the Semitic nominal sentence, account has not been taken of the exact but unscientific statements of Arabic grammarians, which correspond only in part to the above. Cf. "Ajrumiyyah," ed. Trumpp, München, 1876, vi. § 46 seq.; "Mufaṣṣal," ed. Broch, Christiania, 1869; and on this, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Mufaṣṣal" von Trumpp, München, 1878, 1884, § 24 seq.; "Ueber den arabischen Satzbau nach dem arab. gramm." von Trumpp, München, 1879, II. These are followed by Caspari-Müller and Gesenius-Kautzsch, while others still treat nominal and verbal sentences together; so Ewald, Uhleman, Winer, Nägelsbach, Müller, "Hebr. Schulgrammatik," §§ 497-504, Eng. translation, § 125 seq., Hollenberg, § 43b. The correct definition Nöldeke gives in his "Syrische Grammatik," § 309 seq.; so also Stade, "Hebr. Gram.," § 381 (cf. § 180a), bases upon it the explanation of formation of the Hebr. verb. In regard to others, everyone who lectures on Hebr. grammar and syntax, gives it, no doubt, as I, for example, heard it from Philippi-Rostock.

more difficult. We will consider in particular the arrangement of words in the Hebrew according to the different parts of speech in the predicate:

A. The predicate is a substantive.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; e. g., Gen. XIII. 10.

*Exceptions:*

1. The substantive as predicate *must* precede when there is a special emphasis on it, so as to make it prominent to the eye and to the ear; e. g., Jud. XVIII. 29.

2. The substantive as predicate *may* precede.

a) If the subject is a pronoun. This latter rule, of which we find as yet no trace in Arabic, goes through all other Semitic languages, and that quite naturally, for the person, here assumed as generally known, excites less interest than that which is said of him; e. g., 1 Sam. XV. 29.

b) So as to avoid the harshness (nachklappen) of its following a subject which consists of several words; e. g., Exod. VI. 14, 15.

c) In the case of a question; e. g., 1 Sam. XVI. 4.

The arrangement is freer in poetry, where, on account of chiasm, with special frequency, the predicate precedes in one member and follows in the second or the reverse; e. g., Ps. XLVI. 8, 12.

B. The predicate is an adjective:

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; e. g., Gen. II. 12.<sup>1</sup>

*Exceptions:*

1. The adjective as predicate *must* precede when there is a special emphasis on it. This is especially often the case when the adjective is a comparative; e. g., Gen. III. 6; IV. 13.

2. The adjective as predicate *may* precede:

a) When the subject is a pronoun, cf. A. 2. a.; e. g., Exod. II. 2.

b) So as to avoid harshness (nachklappen) when it would follow a subject consisting of several words; e. g. 2 Kgs. XX. 19.

c) In case of a question; e. g., Num. XIV. 3.

<sup>1</sup> While elsewhere in Arabic the rule for the arrangement of the words (viz., subject-predicate) is strictly carried out in the nominal sentence and exceptions occur only singly in interrogative sentences, when the predicate is to be made especially prominent, when the subject is limited by **إِنَّمَا** or **إِلَّا**. Cf. Sura x. 54, 78; IX. 130; v. 60; in this case the arrangement of words in Arabic is exceedingly free and in all probability not original.

The regular arrangement must take place: 1) when the subject is a pronoun, e. g., Sura II. 4; CL. 5; or 2) when the predicate is limited by **إِلَّا** or **إِنَّمَا**, e. g., Sura LXVII. 2, 20.

Inverted arrangement must take place: 1) when there is united with the subject a pronoun which refers to something in the predicate, e. g., Sura CIX. 6; 2) when the subject is limited by **إِلَّا** or **إِنَّمَا**, e. g., Sura III. 19; XV. 21.

Otherwise the arrangement is without rule, in spite of all the statements of Arabic grammarians (cf., for example, Trumpp, "Mufaṣṣal," § 28, "Ueber den arab. Satzbau," II. 3). The prepositional expression as predicate, is sometimes put after, if no ambiguity is to be feared.

To the arrangement of words in poetry what was said under A. applies; e. g., Ps. xxxiii. 4. There is only to be noted that in the poetic sections of the Old Testament the adjective occurs very often as a comparative in the predicate, and to this circumstance is due the fact that it more frequently precedes. Thus, of the cases in Koheleth, about twenty in all, only ii. 17 and xi. 7 are not comparatives.

C. The predicate is a participle. Here also the rules under A. apply; e. g., Gen. i. 2; 2 Sam. xvii. 10; Gen. iii. 14; Deut. xxviii. 4; 2 Sam. x. 8; Ps. cxi. 7.

In Aramaic, on account of the frequent use of the participle instead of the finite verb, the arrangement is practically without rules, cf. Nöldeke, § 309, 324.

D. The predicate is an adverb or adverbial expression.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; Num. xiv. 48.

*Exceptions:*

1. The adverb as predicate *must* precede:

a) When there is a special emphasis on it; e. g., Gen. xlv. 6, 11; 1 Sam. xx. 18.

b) As interrogative adverb; e. g., Gen. iv. 9, xviii. 9.

2. The adverb as predicate *may* precede:

a) When the subject is a pronoun; e. g., Gen. xlv. 10.

b) To avoid harshness (*nachklappen*) when it would follow a subject consisting of several words; e. g., Num. xiii. 22.

c) In a relative sentence, where it appears closely joined by *Māqqēph* to the *nota relationis*; e. g., Gen. ii. 11.

For the arrangement in poetry, what was said under A. is applicable; e. g., Koh. xii. 11.

E. The predicate is a prepositional expression.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate.

*Exceptions:*

1. The prepositional expression as predicate *must* precede, when there is a special emphasis on it. This is especially frequent when, by means of a nominal sentence the verb to have, to possess, is paraphrased (there is to him = he has), the prepositional expression being virtually the subject; e. g., Gen. xviii. 14; xxvi. 20.

2. The prepositional expression as predicate *may* precede:

a) When the subject is a pronoun; Gen. xxvi. 24.

b) To avoid harshness (*nachklappen*) when it would follow a subject consisting of several words; e. g., Num. xxxiii. 9; 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

c) In case of a question, Gen. xxxi. 14; xxxviii. 25; but cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 29, 32.



d) In a relative sentence, when it generally appears joined to the *nota relationis* by means of Māqqēph; Gen. i. 29, 30; vi. 17; xxxiv. 14; Lev. xiv. 40.

For the arrangement in poetry, compare what was said under A., and Ps. xi. 4.

F. The predicate is an infinitive.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; e. g., Isa. xxx. 7; Jer. xxii. 16.

*Exceptions* are not found in the Bible.

More frequent than the use of the simple infinitive as predicate in the nominal sentence is the use of the infinitive with ה where we then generally translate: there is; in order to; can; must. Cf. Ewald, § 237c.

G. The predicate is a numeral.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; e. g., Exod. xvi. 36; xxvi. 2.

*Exceptions:* The numeral as predicate must precede when there is a special emphasis on it; e. g., Num. xi. 21.

H. The predicate is a pronoun.

*Rule:* The arrangement is subject-predicate; e. g., Gen. xxvii. 21, 24; Isa. xli. 4. (It was I).

*Exceptions:* The interrogative pronoun as predicate always precedes; e. g., Gen. xxiv. 65; only two exceptions are found in the Bible, Exod. xvi. 7, 8.

When a sentence has several subjects or several predicates, regularly and commonly, those parts of the sentence which belong together stand also together; e. g., Gen. x. 2, 8; xiii. 13. There are, however, cases where several subjects enclose the predicate or several predicates enclose the subject; especially is this so in poetry; e. g., Amos v. 20; Prov. viii. 18; Ps. cxlvii. 5, 6.

In one case there is no exception to the general rule for the arrangement of words in the nominal sentence, viz., in the so-called circumstantial or conditional clause, even not in poetry; e. g., Gen. xix. 1; Judges iv. 5; Koh. ii. 3.

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF CYLINDER A OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS (I R. 45-47).

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D.,

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A transliteration and translation of Cylinder A, together with parts of B and a few other texts, was published in 1880 by Ernest A. Budge in his *History of Esarhaddon*. This book, however, is unsatisfactory from a textual as well as from a lexicographical stand-point.<sup>1</sup> His edition of the text of Cylinder A is, on the whole, no better than Rawlinson's copy in *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. I. In some places he has corrected the text; but, in others, he has changed the text where it had already been published correctly. His methods of textual criticism are unscientific, since he does not seem to have made sufficient use of the helps at his disposal. Cylinder C,<sup>2</sup> which is of the greatest importance for the reconstruction of the text of A, has received little or no attention.

On account of these defects in Budge's treatment of the text, I was led, by the suggestion of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, to take up the study of the Esarhaddon inscriptions. In the summer of 1885, while studying in the British Museum, I collated A and B, and copied C, together with several other unpublished texts. This collation forms the basis of the corrections<sup>3</sup> which I have offered to the texts as published by Rawlinson, Smith, and Budge. Although the text of Esarhaddon is generally regarded as an easy one, there are, nevertheless, many difficult words and expressions to be found in it. For some of these I have offered new transliterations and translations. In one of the following numbers of *HEBRAICA* I shall publish some notes in defense of these readings.

To my friend and teacher, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, I am greatly indebted for suggestions and help in my study of the Esarhaddon texts.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fried. Delitzsch in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 21, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article in *HEBRAICA*, Oct., 1887, "Some Unpublished Esarhaddon Inscriptions (Cylinder C; 80, 7-19, 15, PS. and K. 1679)."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my article in *HEBRAICA*, April, 1887, "Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R., 45-47, and III R., 15, 16."

## TRANSLITERATION.

## CYLINDER A.

- I. 1. [Ašûrahiddina šar Aššûr šar Šumêri] u Akkadî  
 [apal Sinahêrba] šar Aššûr  
 [apal Šarrukênu] šar Aššûr  
 [ša ina tukulti] Ašûr Sin Samaš
5. Nabû Marduk Ištar ša Ninâ  
 Ištar ša Arba'il ilâni rabûti bëlêšu  
 ultu şêt šamši adî erêb šamši  
 ittallakuma mâhira lâ išû
- 
- Kâsid Sidûni ša ina kabal tâmtim
10. sâpinu gimir dadmêšu  
 dûršu u şubatsu aasuşma  
 kirib tâmtim addîma  
 ašar maškanišu uşalliş  
 Abdimilkûti šarrašu
15. ša lapân kakkê'a  
 ina kabal tâmtim innabtu  
 kîma nûni ultu kirib tâmtim  
 abârşuma akkisa kaşkâsu  
 nakmu buşâşu ħurâşi kaspi abnê aķartu
20. maşak pîri šin pîri uşâ urkarîna  
 lubulti birmê u kitê mimma şumşu  
 nişirti êkallişu  
 ana mu'dê ašlula  
 nişêşu rapşâti ša nîba lâ išâ
25. alpê u şêni imêrê  
 âbuka ana kirib Aššûr  
 upa(h)ĥirma šarrâni Hatti  
 u aĥi tâmtim kâlišunu  
 ina ašri šânimma âla uşêpişma
30. [Kar-Ašûr]ahiddina attabi nibîţu  
 nişê ħubut kaşti'a ša šadi  
 u tâmtim şêt šamši  
 ina libbi uşêşib  
 şudşâki'a piĥâti elişunu aşkun
- 
35. u Sandûarri  
 šar Kundi Sizû  
 nakru aķşu lâ pâliĥ bëlûti'a

## TRANSLATION.

## CYLINDER A.

1. [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Šumer] and Akkad  
[son of Sennacherib], king of Assyria;  
[son of Sargon], king of Assyria;  
who, under the protection of Ašûr, Sin, Šamaš,
5. Nabû, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh,  
Ištar of Arbela, the great gods, his lords,  
from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun  
marched without a rival.

- 
- The conqueror of Sidon, which lies in the middle of the sea,  
10. the overthrower of all its dwellings;  
its wall and its dwelling (houses) I tore down  
and threw them into the sea,  
and destroyed its site.  
Abdimilkûti, its king,
15. who, before my weapons,  
into the midst of the sea had fled,  
like a fish, from the midst of the sea,  
I drew him out and cut off his head.  
His accumulated property, gold, silver, precious stones,
  20. elephant skin, elephant ivory, ušu and urkarênu wood,  
variegated and linen clothing, of every description,  
the treasure of his palace,  
in great quantities, I carried away.  
His numerous men, who were without number,
  25. oxen, sheep and asses  
I brought to Assyria.  
I assembled the kings of Hatti  
and of the sea-coast—all of them.  
In another place, I caused the city to be built
  30. and [Kar-Ašûr]ahiddin I called its name.  
The men, the booty of my bow, from the mountains  
and the sea of the rising of the sun,  
I caused to dwell there;  
my officer and governor I placed over them.

- 
35. And Sandûarri,  
king of the cities of Kundi and Sizû,  
a powerful enemy, who did not respect my lordship,

- ša ilâni umašširuma  
ana šadê maršûti ittakil  
40. u Abdimilkûti šar Šidûni  
ana rêšûtišu iškunma  
šum ilâni rabûti ana aḫamêš izkurûma  
ana emûkêšun ittaklû  
anâku ana Ašûr bêli'a attakilma  
45. kima iṣṣûri ultu kirib šadi  
abâršuma akkisa kaḫḫâsu  
aššu danân Ašûr bêli'a  
nišê kullumimma  
kaḫḫadê Sandûarri  
50. u Abdimilkûti  
ina kišâdi rabûtišun âlulma  
itti zammêrê(?) u ...  
ina rêbit Ninâ etêtik

---

Šâlil Arzani(?)

55. [ša itê(?)?] naḫal Mušri

- II. 1. . . . . idkêšu  
ana Aššûr ûrâ  
ina tēḫi abulli ša ṣêt ša Ninâ  
itti asi kalbi u šaḫê  
5. ušêšibšunûti kamêš

---

u Te'ušpâ Gimirrâ  
ummân-manda ša ašaršu rûḫu  
ina irṣitim Hubušna  
adi gimir ummânišu ura(s)siba ina kakki

10. Kâbis kišâdi nišê Hilakki  
Du'ua âšibût ḫuršâni  
ša tēḫi Tabal  
ša elî šadêšunu (dannûti) ittaklûma  
ultu ûmê pâni lâ iknušû ana nîri  
15. XXI âlânišunu dannûti  
adi âlâni ṣiḫrûti ša limêtišunu  
almê akšud ašlula šallatsun  
abbul aḫḫur ina iṣṣâti aḫmu  
sitûtêšunu ša ḫiṭṭu  
20. u ḫullultu lâ iṣṣâ  
kabtu nîr bêlûti'a êmidsunûti.
-

- who had forsaken the gods,  
to the impassable mountains he trusted,
40. and Abdimilkûti, king of Sidon  
came to his help.  
The name of the great gods they both despised (?)  
and trusted to their own forces.  
I trusted in Ašûr, my lord,
45. and, like a bird, from the midst of the mountains,  
I drew him forth and cut off his head.  
In order to show the men the power  
of Ašûr, my lord,  
the heads of Sandûarri
50. and Abdimilkûti  
upon the necks of their great men I hung.  
With male and female singers(?),  
into the streets of Nineveh I marched.
- 
- The despoiler of Arzani,
55. which is on the banks of the river of the land of Egypt.
- II. 1 . . . . .  
to Assyria brought.  
In the vicinity of the eastern gate of Nineveh,  
with wild boars, dogs and wild beasts
5. I caused them to sit in chains.
- 
- And Té'ušpa of Gimir  
an ummân-manda, whose residence was afar off,  
in the Hubušna territory,  
together with the whole of his army, I ran through with the sword.
- 
10. The trampler upon the necks of the men of Hilakki  
Du'ua, the inhabitants of the mountain-ridges,  
which lie in the vicinity of Tabal;  
who trusted to their [mighty] mountains,  
and from days of old had not been subject to any yoke;
15. XXI powerful cities,  
together with the smaller cities of their territory,  
I besieged, captured, carried away their spoil,  
I destroyed, tore down and burned with fire.  
Upon the rest, who had not committed sin
20. and crimes,  
I placed the heavy yoke of my lordship.
-

- Dâ'is Barnaki nakru aqšu  
 âšibûte Tilašûri  
 ša ina pî nišê  
 25. Mehrânu Pitânu  
 inambû zikiršun.

---

Musappih nišê Mannâ  
 kutû lâ sanqu  
 ša ummânâti Išpakâ  
 Ašguzâ kidru lâ mušêzibišu  
 inâru ina kakki.

- 
- Târid Nabû-zêr-napišti-uštêšir apal Marduk-apal-iddina  
 ša ana šar Elamti ittaklûma  
 lâ ušêzibu napsatsu Š.  
 35. *fail* Na'id-Marduk ahušu  
 aššu epêš ardûti'a  
 ultu kirib Elamti innabtamma *naphai*  
 ana Ninâ âl bêlûti'a  
 illikamma unaššik šêpê'a  
 40. mât tâmtim ana silvîrtiša *shy. - silvîrti*  
 ridût ahišu ušadgil pânusšu. *in pânus*

- 
- Nâbi' Bît-Dakkûri  
 ša kirib Kaldi aiab Bâbili  
 kâmû Samaš-ibni šarrišu  
 45. iṣḥappu ḥabbilu lâ pâliḥu zikri bêl bêlê  
 ša eḳlê aplê Bâbili  
 u Barsap ina parikte itbaluma  
 aššu anâku puluḥti Bêl u Nabû idû  
 eḳlê šinâti uḡërma  
 50. pân aplê Bâbili u Barsap  
 ušadgil  
 Nabû-šallim apal Balasu  
 ina kussêšu ušêšibma  
 iṣâṭa abšâni.

- 
55. Adumû âl dannûte Aribi  
 [ša] Sinaḥêrba šar Aššûr  
 [abû] bânû'a ikšuduma  
 58. . . . . ilânišu

The treader upon the land of Barnaki, a powerful enemy,  
the inhabitants of Tilašûri  
who in the language of the people

25. Miḫrānu Pitānu *ḫ. 300/2*  
they call their name.

The scatterer of the inhabitants of Minni,  
the *k u t ū*, the unsubmissive;  
who subdued the armies of Išpaka

30. Ašguza—*an alliance that did not save him—*  
with (his) sword.

The driver away of Nabû-zêr-napišti-uštêšir, son of Mardukbaliddin,  
who trusted to Elam,  
but did not save his life.

35. Na'id-Marduk, his brother,  
in order to subject himself to me  
fled from Elam, and  
came to Nineveh, my lordship's city,  
and kissed my feet.  
40. The sea-land, in its extent,  
the dominion of his brother, I entrusted to him.

Who tore away Bit-Dakkûri  
which is in Kaldi, an enemy of Babylon.  
The binder of Šamaš-ibni, its king,

45. a foolish (?), bad person, who did not fear the renown of the lord of lords,  
who had taken away the fields of the Babylonians  
and Borsippans by force.

Because I knew the fear of Bêl and Nabû  
these fields I returned, and

50. to the Babylonians and Borsippans  
I entrusted.  
Nabû-šallim, son of Balasu,  
I placed on his throne  
and he was tribute to me.

55. Adumû, the powerful city of Aribi  
[which] Sennacherib, king of Assyria.  
[the father], my begetter, had captured and  
58. . . . . his gods



- III. 1. [iṣlula] ana Aššûr  
ûrâ  
[Hazâ'ilu šar Aribi  
itti tamartišu kabitte
5. ana Ninâ âl bêlûti'a  
illikamma unaššik šépê'a  
aššu nadân ilânišu uṣallânima  
rêmu aršišuma  
ilâni šâtunu anḥûsunu uddiṣma
10. danân Ašûr bêli'a  
u šitir šumi'a eliṣunu ušaṣirma  
utêrma addinšu  
Tabû'a tarbît êkalli'a  
ana šarrûti eliṣunu aškunma
15. itti ilâniša ana mâtiša utêrši  
LXV gammalê eli mâdâti  
abê'a maḥrîti uraddima  
ukîn ʔiruššu.  
Arka Hazâ'ilu šimtu ûbilšuma
20. Ia'ilu apalšu  
ina kussêšu ušêšibma  
X mana hurâgi M abnê bêrûti  
L gammalê M gunzi (?) rikḫê  
eli mâdâte abêšu uraddima êmidu
- 
25. Bâzu nagû ša ašaršu rûḫu  
mi-šid(?) nabâli ḫaḫḫar dâbtu ašar ṣumâme  
CXL kasbu ḫaḫḫar bâšê  
puḫuttu u aban pi-ṣabîti  
XX kasbu ḫaḫḫar ṣiri u aḫrabi
30. ša kîma zirbâbê malû ugaru  
XX kasbu Hazû šaddî sag-gil-mud  
ana arki'a umašširma êtiḫ  
ša ultu ûmê ullûti  
lâ illiku šarru pâni maḥri'a
35. ina ḫibîti Ašûr bêli'a  
ina kirbišu šaltâniš attallak.  
VIII šarrâni ša kirib nagê šû'atu  
adûk ilânišunu namkûrišunu busâšunu  
u nišêšunu ašlula ana kirib Aššûr
40. Lâlê šar Iadi'  
ša ultu lapân kakkê'a ipparšidu

- III. 1. had carried away, to Assyria  
 had brought ;  
 [Haza']ilu, king of Aribi,  
 with his heavy present,
5. to Nineveh, my lordship's city,  
 came and kissed my feet.  
 For the return of his gods he besought me, and  
 I showed him compassion.  
 The injuries of these gods I repaired, and
10. the power of Ašûr, my lord,  
 and the writing of my name upon them I caused to be written,  
 and gave them back.  
 Tabû'a, who was reared in my palace,  
 I appointed to sovereignty over them, and
15. with her gods to her land I returned her.  
 LXV camels in addition to the former tribute  
 of my fathers, I added and  
 set on him.  
 Afterwards, fate carried Haza'ilu away, and
20. Ia'ilû, his son,  
 I placed on his throne.  
 X maneh of gold, M brilliant (?) stones,  
 L camels, M *gunzi* of sweet smelling herbs,  
 in addition to the tribute of his father, I added and placed on him,
- 
25. Bâzu, a district, whose situation is afar off,  
 a . . . of land, a wearisome(?) country, a barren place,  
 CXL kasbu of swampy land,  
 pu k u t t u and gazelle-mouth stone ;  
 XX kasbu of snakes and scorpions,
30. which, like grasshoppers, filled the country ;  
 XX kasbu of Hazû, a mountain of sag-gil-mud stone  
 I left behind me and I marched.  
 Where, from days of old,  
 no king before me had gone,
35. by the command of Ašûr, my lord,  
 into its midst I marched victoriously.  
 VIII kings of that district I killed,  
 their gods, property, possessions,  
 and men I carried away into Assyria.
40. Lâlê, king of Iadi',  
 [who] before my weapons had fled,

šallat ilânišu išmêma  
ana Ninâ âl bēlûti'a  
adî maḥri'a illikamma

45. unaššik šêpê'a  
rêmu aršišuma aḳtabišu aḥu[lap]  
ilânišu ša ašlula danân Ašûr bēli'a  
elišunu ašturma utêrma addinšu  
nagê Bâzi šû'atu

50. ušadgil pânuššu  
biltu mandātu bēlûti'a  
ukîn šîruššu

---

Bēlikîša apal Bunâni Gambulâ  
ša ina XII kasbu ḳaḳḳar ina mê u apparâti

55. kîma nûni šitkunu šubtu  
ina ḳibît Ašûr bēli'a ḥattu imḳutsuma  
kî tēm râmânišu  
biltu u mandātu  
gûmaḥḥê šuklul šamna

60. . . . .

- IV. 1. ûbilamma unaššik šêpê'a  
rêmu aršišuma ušarḥissu libbu  
Šapî-Bêl âl dannûtišu  
dannassu udanninma

5. šâšu adî šâbê ḳaštišu ina libbi  
ušêlišuma  
kîma dalti Elamti édilšu

---

Patušarra nagû ša itê bît MUN  
ša kirib Madâ rûḳûti

10. ša pâṭi Bikni šaddê uknê  
ša ina šarrâni âbê'a mamma lâ ikbusu  
irḫitim mâtišun  
Šidirparna Eparna  
ḥazanâti dannûti

15. ša lâ kitnušû ana nîri  
šâšunu adî nišêšunu sîsê rukûbêšunu  
alpê šêni imêrê udurê  
šallatsun kabittu ašlula ana Aššûr

---

Uppiz ḥazan ša Partakka

20. Zanasana ḥazan ša Partukka

heard of the carrying away of his gods, and  
to Nineveh, my lordship's city,  
into my presence he came, and

45. kissed my feet.

I showed him compassion and spoke to him of peace(?).  
Upon his gods, which I had carried away, I wrote  
the power of Ašûr, my lord, and gave them back.  
The district of Bâzi

50. I entrusted to him,  
the taxes and tribute of my lordship  
I imposed upon him.

---

Bêlikîša, son of Bunâni, of Gambûl,  
who, at the distance of XII kasbu of land in the water and marshes,

55. like a fish had fixed (his) dwelling ;  
by the command of Ašûr, my lord, terror struck him.  
Of his own accord,  
taxes and tribute,  
large oxen, completely fattened

60. . . . .

IV. 1. he brought and kissed my feet.

I showed him compassion and I made his heart confident.  
Šapî-Bêl, the city of his strength,  
its strength I strengthened, and

5. he himself, together with his bow-men,  
I caused to go up into it, and  
like a door of Elam, I shut it up.

---

Patušarra, a district on the borders of . . . . ,  
which is in the midst of the far-off Medes,

10. on the borders of Bikni, a mountain of alabaster stone,  
the territory of whose land no one  
among the kings, my fathers, had trodden,  
Šidirparna Êparna,  
the powerful city-officers,

15. who were not under subjection to any yoke,  
they themselves with their men, horses, chariots,  
oxen, sheep, asses, dromedaries,  
their heavy spoil I carried away to Assyria.

---

Uppiz, city-officer of Partakka,

20. Zanasana, city-officer of Partukka,

- Ramatê'a hazan ša Urakazabarna  
 Madâ ša ašaršunu rûku  
 ša ina tarši šarrâni abê'a iršitim Aššûr  
 lâ ibbalkitûnimma lâ ikbusû kaḫḫarša  
 25. puluḫtu rašûbat Ašûr bêli'a ishupšunûtima  
murniški rabûti uknu ṭib mâtišu  
 ana Ninâ âl bêlûti'a  
 iššûnimma unaššikû šêpê'a  
 aššu hazanâti šakâtu idkûšunûti  
 30. bêlûti ušallûma  
 êrišû'inni kidru  
 šudšâkê'a piḫâti  
 ša pâti mâtišun  
 ittišunu uma'irma  
 35. nišê âšibût âlâni šâtonu  
 ikbusûma ušaknišû šêpûšun  
 biltu mandâtu bêlûti'a šattišamma ukîn širûšun
- 
- Ultu Ašûr šamaš Bêl u Nabû  
 Ištar ša Ninâ Ištar ša Arba'il  
 40. elî nakirê'a ina lêti  
 ušâzizûnima amḡû mala libbi'a  
 ina kišitti nakirê šadlûti  
 ša ina tukulti ilâni rabûti bêlê'a  
 ikšudâ ḫâtâ'a  
 45. ešrêṭ maḫâzê ša Aššûr  
 u Akkadî ušêpišma  
 kaspi ḫurâši uša'inma  
 unammera kîma ûme
- 
- Ina ûmêšuma êkal maḫirte  
 50. ša kirib Ninâ  
 ša šarrâni âlik maḫri abê'a  
 ušêpišû ana šutêšur karâši  
 paḫâdi murniškê parê  
 narkabâti bêlê unûṭ(e) taḫâzi  
 55. u šallat nakirê gimir mimma šumšu  
 ša Ašûr šar ilâni  
 ana ešḫi šarrûti'a išruḫa  
 ana šitmur sisê  
 šitamduḫ narkabâti  
 60. [ašru šû'atu imiṣannima]

965.23

973. p. 196

980. p. p. 221

inf. cont. III. 2.

- Ramatê'a, city-officer of Urakazabarna,  
 Medes, whose situation is afar off,  
 who, under the reign of the kings, my fathers, the territory of Assyria  
 had not crossed over and had not trodden its ground,  
 25. the fear of the might of Ašûr, my lord, overwhelmed them.  
 Large horses, alabaster-stone, the choice of his land,  
 to Nineveh, my lordship's city,  
 they brought and kissed my feet.  
 As for the city-officers, faint-heartedness(?) struck them ;  
 30. they besought my lordship, and  
 they asked of me a treaty.  
 My over-officers, the prefects of  
 the border of their land,  
 I sent with them.  
 35. The men, the inhabitants of these cities,  
 they trampled upon and subdued.  
 The tribute and taxes of my lordship I imposed upon them forever.

- 
- From the time that Ašûr, Šamaš, Bêl and Nabû,  
 Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela,  
 40. had set me in power over my enemies  
 and I had found the fulness of my heart,  
 with the booty of my numerous enemies,  
 which, under the protection of the great gods, my lords,  
 my hands had captured,  
 45. the temples of the cities of Assyria  
 and Akkad I caused to be built, and  
 with silver and gold I adorned them, and  
 I made them as bright as the day.

- 
- In those days, the former palace,  
 50. which is in Nineveh,  
 which the kings, my forefathers,  
 had caused to be built, for the stowing away of the camp,  
 for the sheltering of the horses and bulls,  
 chariots, weapons, utensils of war,  
 55. and the spoil of the enemies, everything of every description,  
 which Ašûr, the king of the gods,  
 for the strengthening of my kingdom had presented,  
 for the stalling of the horses,  
 and the hitching-up of the chariots,  
 60. [that place had become too small for me, and]

- V. 1. nišê mâtâtî ħubut kašti'a  
 allu umšikku ušaššišunûtima  
 ilbinû libnâti  
 êkallu šiġra šû'atu
5. ana siġirtiša akġurma  
 ħakġaru ma'du kima aġaztimma  
 ultu libbi eklê abtuġma  
 eliša uraddi  
 ina pîli aban šadî danni
10. tamlâ uſmalli
- Adġêma XXII šarrâni Hatti  
 ša aġi tâmtim u ħabal tâmtim kâlîšunu  
 uma'iršunûtima  
 ġušûrê rabûti dimmê šîrûti
15. abime erini šurmêni  
 ultu kirib Sirâra Labnâna  
 lamassê lête zâzâtu  
askuppât agurrê  
 ša ġis-sir-ġal ašnan
20. tur-mi-na tur-mi-na-tur-du  
 en-ġi-damġu a-lal-du  
 ġi-na ġi-li-ba ultu kirib ħuršâni  
 ašar nabnîtišunu  
 ana ħišaġti êkalli'a
25. marġiš pašġiš  
 ana Ninâ ušalididûni
- Ina arġi šêmê ūmu mitġari  
 eli tamlê šû'atu  
 êkallâti rabbâti
30. ana mûšab bêlûti'a  
 abtani šîruššu  
 bîtanni ša XCV ina I ammati rabîtim ina arkat  
XXXI ina I ammati rabîtim rapšat  
 ša ina šarrâni âlik maġri abê'a
35. mamma lâ êpušu anâku êpuš  
 ġušûrê erini šîrûti  
 ušatriša eliša  
 daltê šurmêni ša erêsina řâbu  
mêsir kaspi u siparri urakkisma

- V. 1. the men of the countries, the booty of my bow,  
I caused them to carry allu umšikku  
and they made bricks.  
That small palace
5. I tore down entirely.  
A large quantity of ground, in accordance with my means,  
from the midst of the fields I cut off, and  
added to it.  
With freestone, a stone of the mighty mountains,
10. I filled out its terrace.
- 
- I assembled XXII kings of the land of Hatti,  
of the sea-coast and the middle of the sea; to  
all of these I gave my commands, and  
large beams, mighty posts
15. of abime, cedar and cypress  
from the midst of Sirara and Labnana,  
brilliant colossi and bull-colossi(?)  
Einfassungsschwellen of  
gis-sir-gal and ašnan stone, of
20. turmina turmina-turdu  
ên-gi-damku alaldu  
gi-na ħi-li-ba, from the mountain-ridges,  
the place of their production,  
for the requirements of my palace,
25. with labor and with difficulty,  
they caused to be drawn to Nineveh.
- 
- In a fortunate month, on a favorable day,  
upon that terrace,  
great palaces
30. for the dwelling of my lordship,  
I built upon it.  
A palace, whose length was XCV great cubits,  
whose breadth was XXXI great cubits,  
which, among the kings who went before me, my fathers,
35. no one had built, I built.  
Mighty beams of cedar  
I laid in rows upon it.  
Doors of cypress-wood, whose odor was good,  
with a covering of silver and copper, I bound



- 13)  
40. urattâ bâbêša

lamassê u šedê ša abnê

ša kî pî šiknišunu 137

- 101 irti limni utârû

nâširu kibsi mušallimu

45. tallakti šarri bânišunu

imnu u šumêlu ušašbita

šigaršin

êkal pîli u erini

(See corrections to text.)

50. ana multa'ûti bêlûti'a

nakliš ušêpiš

lamassê êrê maššâ[te]

ša abênnâ pâna u arka

inâta[lâ] kilâtan kiribša ulzi[z]

# VI. 1. dimmê erini šîrûti

abime (kulûl) bâbêšin êmid !!

sihirti êkali šâtu

nibiḥu pašḫu ša KA ukni

5. ušêpišma ušalmâ kililiš

si-êl-lu mat gi-gu kîma. (??)

ušašhira gimir bâbê

sikkat kaspi ebḫi u siparri namri

urattâ kirib[šin]

10. danân Ašûr bêli'a

ša ina matâti nakrâte

êteppušu

ina šipir ḥarrakûte êsiḫa kiribša

kirû maḫḫu tamšil Hamânim

15. ša kâla rikkê u ešê

ḥurrušu itâša êmid

kisallaša rabêš(?) urabbima

tallaktaša ma'diḫ urappiḫ

ana maškîṭ sisê kiribša

20. šuktu ušêšeramma

ušaḫbibâ atappiḫ

êkallu šû'atu ultu ušêšêša

adî taḫlubîša

aršip ušaklilma lulê umalli

25. eš-gal kišib-kak-kak-a

êkallu pâkidat kâlâmu azkura nibîša

40. and I hung as its gates.

Bull-divinities and colossi of stone  
which, according to their position,  
turn the breast of the enemy,  
which protect the path, render inviolable

45. the way of the king, their builder,  
to the right and left I caused them to take  
their positions.

A palace of freestone and cedar  
š u - t ê - m u - d u - t i (?)

50. for the renown of my lordship,  
artistically I caused to be built.  
Glittering female colossi of bronze  
which looked sideways, forewards and backwards

54. I placed in it on both sides.

- VI. 1. Mighty beams of cedar,  
of a bim ê, as the fastening of their gates I placed.  
The surrounding-wall of that palace  
nibiḫu pašḫu of pi-stone and alabaster

☞ I caused to be made and to surround like a wreath(?).

☞ . . . . . like . . . . .

I caused to surround the whole of the gates.  
Doors of pure silver and shining copper  
I hung in their midst.

10. The power of Ašûr, my lord,  
which I had exhibited  
in hostile countries,  
by the work of the engravers, I carved in it.

A large park like those of Hamân,

15. in which every sort of spices and trees  
was planted, I placed on its sides.

Its ground-floor I greatly enlarged, and  
its path I made much wider.

For a drinking-place for the horses, within it

20. I had a watering-trough constructed and  
arranged after the manner of a canal.

This palace, from its foundation  
to its roof,

I erected, caused to be completed and fitted out with fulness.

25. Ekallu pâḫidat kâlâma

i. e., the palace guarding everything, I called its name.

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 Ašûr Ištâr ša Ninâ ilâni Aššûr  
 kâlišunu ina kirbiša akrima §65.9 §65.32  
 221 nikê tašrihte ebbûti §65.9 §65.32  
 30. maḥaršun akkima §65.9 §65.32  
 116 ušamḥira kadrâ'a §65.9 §65.32  
 ilâni šâtunu ina kûn libbišunu §65.9 §65.32  
 113 iktarrabû šarrûti §65.9 §65.32  
 rabûti u nišê mâti'a kâlišunu §65.9 §65.32  
 36. ina ta-zir-te u kirêti §65.9 §65.32  
ina passûri tašilâti §65.9 §65.32  
kiribša ušêšibma §65.9 §65.32  
ušâliša nuparšun §65.9 §65.32  
karânê kurunnu amkira šurrašun §65.9 §65.32  
 40. šamnu rêštû šamnu gu-la-amuḥḥašunu ušâški §65.9 §65.32  
ina kibit Ašûr šar ilâni u ilâni Aššûr. §65.9 §65.32  
kâlišunu ina tûb šêrê ḥud libbi §65.9 §65.32  
 121 nummur kabitti šêbê littûte §65.9 §65.32  
 11 kiribša dârêš lurmêma §65.9 §65.32  
 45. lušbâ lalâša §65.9 §65.32  
ina zak-mukki arḫi rêšti kullat murniškê §65.9 §65.32  
parê imêrê gammalê §65.9 §65.32  
bêlê unût taḥâzi §65.9 §65.32  
gimir ummâni šallat nakirê §65.9 §65.32  
 50. šattišamma lâ naparkâ §65.9 §65.32  
lupkida kiribša §65.9 §65.32  
ina kirib êkalli šâtu §65.9 §65.32  
šêdu damḫu lamassu damḫu §65.9 §65.32  
nâšir kibsi šarrûti'a §65.9 §65.32  
 55. muḥadû kabitti'a §65.9 §65.32  
 B. VI. 13. dârêš lištabrû ai ipparkû idâša §78. §31  
ana arkat ûmê ina šarrâni aplê'a ša Ašûr u Ištâr SFG §15  
 15. ana bêlût mâti u nišê inambû zikiršu §82. §15  
enuma êkallu šâtu ilabirûma in(n)aḫu anḥûssa luddi §82. §15  
ki ša anâku mušarû šitir šum šarri abê bâni'a §82. §15  
itti mušarê šitir šumi'a aškunuma §82. §15  
atta kîma iâtima mušarû šitir šumi'a §82. §15  
 20. amurma šamna pušuš niḫû iḫi §82. §15  
itti mušarê šitir šumika šukun §82. §15  
Ašûr u Ištâr ikribika išemmu. §82. §15

Dec. 7. 1892

- Ašûr, Ištar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria,  
all of them, I invited into it.  
Large and clean sacrifices
30. I sacrificed before them,  
and I presented my presents.  
These gods, in the steadfastness of their hearts,  
looked with favor on my kingdom.  
The great men and inhabitants of my country—all of them—
35. with eating (?) and feasting,  
with the dedicatory vessels,  
in its midst, I caused to sit,  
and I caused their hearts (spirits) to rejoice.  
With wines and cider I bribed (?) their hearts,
40. the best oil I offered (??) them, I caused them to drink.  
By the command of Ašûr, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria,  
all of them, in health of body, joy of heart,  
cheerfulness of spirit, abundance of offspring,  
within it, may I continually dwell, and
45. may its fulness be sufficient.  
On the beginning of the year, in the first month, all of the horses,  
bulls, asses, camels,  
weapons, utensils of war,  
all the soldiers, the spoil of my enemies,
50. yearly, without fail,  
within it may I store away.  
Within this palace, may the  
gracious bull-divinities and gracious colossi,  
protecting the footsteps of my majesty,
55. causing my spirit to rejoice,
- B. VI. 13. forever show themselves, may they not separate from its side.  
For the future, among the kings, my sons, whosoever Ašûr and Ištar
15. call to be ruler of land and people,  
at the time when this palace becomes old and weak, may he repair its  
damage.  
Accordingly as I placed the inscription of the king, my begetter,  
with the inscriptions of my name,  
so do thou as I did, and look after my inscription,
20. and cleanse it with oil, sacrifice sacrifices,  
with thy own inscriptions place it.  
Ašûr and Ištar will hear thy prayers.

## JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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### V.

#### DÔNÂSH BEN LABRAT.

It occasionally happens that a man attains fame not for any pronounced merits of his own, but because he chances to be thrown in contact with some eminent personage, either as a friend or as an opponent. Boswell is remembered solely because he followed Johnson about like a shadow. Lessing replies to the attacks made upon him by Goetze, and in this way ensures for the latter a lasting celebrity, though not of the most enviable kind. Dônâsh b. Labrat enjoys the distinction—if distinction it be—of being the opponent of Saadia Gaon and of Menahem b. Saruk. Whether he had other claims for being remembered or not, he is known to us only as the author of two sharp polemical treatises; the one containing a pointed criticism of Saadia's Arabic translation of the Bible;<sup>1</sup> the other, an attempt to discountenance Menahem's standing as a grammarian, under the guise of a would-be friendly review of the latter's dictionary.

Concerning the life and career of Dônâsh we know nothing but that he was born in Fez, and was a contemporary of Menahem b. Saruk. It would seem as though Dônâsh never completed the criticism of Saadia's translation, or—which is perhaps more probable—the single manuscript which exists of the work<sup>2</sup> contains only an abstract of the whole. Dônâsh picks out the flaws in the translation, shows that in many places Saadia misunderstood the sense, in others was misled by external resemblances to confuse stems together which had nothing to do with one another. There is no doubt that in many, if not in most, of the criticisms which Dônâsh makes, he is fully in the right. So in the very first paragraph of his "Replies" he points out that Saadia reads the word אִמְתָּה (Exod. II. 5) for אִמְתָּה, and renders "and she stretched out her fore-arm," though the Targum also adopts this interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Again, misled perhaps by the following word, Saadia takes "כִּאֲהֲלִים נִטַּע" (Num. XXIV. 6) in the sense "as tents, the Lord planted."<sup>4</sup> Dônâsh shows the objections to such a rendering. In this

<sup>1</sup> See *HEBRAICA*, vol. III., No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Robert Schröter (Breslau, 1866), under the title ספר תשובות רונש הלוי בן לברט על רבי סעדיה גאון.

<sup>3</sup> In accordance with an opinion in *Lotah*, 12a, and *Exodus Rabbah*, s. 1.

<sup>4</sup> v. *B'rakhoth*, 16a.

way he passes on from word to word through the 192 paragraphs comprising the part of the treatise that is known to us. Assuming that he is always justified in his objections, he is still not warranted in speaking with such severity and at times contempt of Saadia's work as characterize the *critique*. Allowance may of course be made for the customs of the time. Dônâsh lived in an age when a spade was called a spade, and when, in their warfare with one another, scholars vied with each other in the use of opprobrious epithets and slanderous insinuations—remnants of which period may still be found in our own days. But Dônâsh, it is fair to suppose, outstepped the bounds of what was even then considered legitimate criticism; and especially in his treatment of Menahem, he is generally bitter, and at times extremely coarse. The consequence is that, even when we are forced to admit the correctness of Dônâsh's censures, our sympathies are still with the nobler Menahem, whose unselfish labors were received in so unworthy a manner. The opposition on the part of Dônâsh did not cease with the publication of his T'sûbbôt<sup>1</sup>, but was extended to charges of a more serious character. Exactly of what nature these charges were, we do not know; but we do know that they cost Menahem his happiness and for a time his liberty. His house, for some reason or other, was ransacked and he himself thrown into prison. There are good reasons for believing that Dônâsh was implicated in these indignities offered to a man who seems to have been the embodiment of the quiet and unassuming scholar.

In the introduction to the *critique* Dônâsh, it is true, claims to hold Menahem in high esteem. He calls him "my brother," prays that God may shower blessings upon him, confesses the reluctance with which he undertakes his task. "I reprove thee," he says, "only in the hope that thou mayest love me still more;" and adds, "How much better, besides, is open reproof than concealed love." But these and other complimentary phrases are scarcely in keeping with the bitter words with which almost every paragraph closes. Dônâsh's purpose to throw ridicule on Menahem is only too clear. Now, Menahem is a "fool," then, a "deceiver," and again, an "ignoramus." He misguides the young; he does not know what he is talking about; he is lacking in the first rudiments of Hebrew,—in such terms does Dônâsh constantly speak of his rival. All this, however, must not blind us to the merits which the T'sûbbôt<sup>1</sup> possesses. While Dônâsh cannot be said to have advanced the study of Hebrew grammar, still the testimony must be awarded him that he was successful in picking out the great defects in the theories and views of Menahem. Dônâsh has a keener sense for the niceties of grammar than Menahem; he enters deeper into the spirit of the language; and even where his reasoning is unsatisfactory, his instinct frequently leads him on the right path. He also seems to have had a far better acquaintance with some of the cognate Semitic languages, especially Arabic and Aramaic, than his con-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Filipowski (*Orthodox Vocum Recensiones Donash ben Librat Levitas*), London, 1855.

temporaries in general; and this no doubt was of great advantage to him in opening his eyes to the lack of method in the theories of the Jewish grammarians of the day.

His criticism is twofold. He attacks the interpretations which Menahem gives of biblical passages and of the meanings he assigns to words, and on the other hand points out errors in tracing words to their stems, in throwing verbal forms together which have nothing in common, in mistaking nouns for verbs, suffixes for parts of the stem and the reverse; and more the like. He embodies his objections in the form of a poem—if a conglomeration of rhyming stanzas may be called a poem—which but for a kind of a commentary which he has fortunately attached, explaining at length on what grounds his differences are based, would be perfectly unintelligible. Even as it is, despite the prosaical supplement, there are many passages which are absolute enigmas, though for our consolation be it added, that we probably lose very little by our inability to fathom them. For the understanding of Dônâsh's position it suffices to confine ourselves to his prose, which, in contradistinction to his heavy verse, is graceful, fluent, and extremely pleasant to read.

As a specimen of his method, his reply to Menahem's argument against Jehuda Ibn Koreish's explanation of כֶּבֶשׂ אֵלֶיךָ (Jer. xi. 19) as "lamb and ox," may be selected. Menahem, it will be remembered,<sup>1</sup> asserts that the *waw* conjunctive can only be omitted in a continuous series of at least three words, and even then there is a *waw* just before the last of the words thus placed in juxtaposition. Furthermore, the singular of the verb (יִכְבֵּשׁ) which follows shows that the subject also must be a singular. Dônâsh disputes both assertions, and justly so. Examples such as שֶׁמֶשׁ יָרַח עֲמֵד וְזוּלָה (Hab. iii. 11) prove that the *waw* may be omitted in the case of two words; and in the second place, there are many instances where a singular verb is attached to a plural subject, or has for its subject two nouns; e. g., שֶׁמֶן וְקֹטֶרֶת יִשְׂמַח לָב (Prov. xxvii. 9), רֹחַ וְהִצְלָה, יַעֲמֹד (Esth. iv. 14). Dônâsh accepts, accordingly, the interpretation given by Koreish. In his opinion there is an intentional contrast between the small and great. The prophet wishes to say that both lamb as well as ox shall be carried to the slaughter. The arguments of Dônâsh are sound enough to set aside Menahem's objections; but, for all that, Menahem is right and Koreish wrong. The context clearly demands such a translation as "I am like a tame lamb led to the slaughter."

In general, Dônâsh may be said to be a closer or rather a sharper reasoner than Menahem. He pays greater attention to minute details, and there is little that escapes his critical eye. Menahem rather carelessly mistakes the word צֶלֶם in בְּצֶלֶם יִתְהַלֵּךְ אִישׁ (ψ 39, 7) for "image," for which Dônâsh takes him severely to task. He shows that the stem is the same as that of צִלְמוֹת, and

<sup>1</sup> See HEBRAICA, vol. iv., p. 32.

hence the phrase is to be rendered "in darkness man wanders about." It is important to note that Dônâsh is not led astray by the Massoretic vocalization of **צִלְמוֹת** to explain it (as has so often been done) as a combination of two words. For him the word is an abstract noun, formed just as **קִדְרוֹת** (Isa. L. 3), and he also attempts to give a reason for the curious vocalization, in which, however, he is less successful. The fact is that the Massoretes believed the word to be composed of **צֵל** and **מוֹת**, and vocalized it accordingly. But rejecting the "punning" etymology, we are justified in setting aside the traditional vocalization, and read instead "šalmût."

Menahem again exhibits a neglect of detail in throwing **בֵּית אֲרֵכָאֵל** (Hos. x. 14) under the same category as **אֲרֵב** "to ensnare," and also similarly deriving **זִרְעָאֵל** (Hos. II. 24) from **זָרַע**, regarding the two final letters as added, though without any apparent reason and without affecting the sense in any way. To Dônâsh, such a notion seems preposterous. Both words, he says, can of course only be nothing else than proper names. He pounces unmercifully on this unfortunate error of Menahem's. "I should like to know," he says, "how you propose to translate **וּפְקַדְתִּי אֶת דְּמֵי זִרְעָאֵל עַל בֵּית יְהוָה** (Hos. I. 4), if **זִרְעָאֵל** is a common (and not a proper) noun? Perhaps, 'I shall visit the *sowers* of the ground in the house of Jehu?'"

In this way Dônâsh proceeds to expose the weaknesses and defects of Menahem; but while, as already intimated, he succeeds in doing this—and in so far, his critique is of considerable value to us—he cannot be said to stand on a higher plane than the unhappy Menahem. Like so many critics, he fails to improve upon the production he endeavors to overthrow. So while rejecting most of the attempts on the part of Menahem to trace verbal forms to uniliteral stems, he yet admits the existence of such stems. The stem of **נָךְ** is not a mere **ך**, as Menahem thinks; but this, he says, is the case with **וַיְדִי אֶבֶן בִּי** (Lam. III. 53). Again **כֹּה** "thus" belongs to the class of indeclinable particles like **פֹּה**, **בִּי**, **עֵן**, **נָא**, **רַק**, and the like. The stem is not a **ך**, but consists of two letters; however, **הַכִּיתָ** (Exod. XVII. 6) and **וַיִּךְ** (Judges XV. 8) do go back to such a uniliteral stem. The main difference between him and Menahem is that, while the latter consistently carries out his principle that no letter which at any time may disappear from the word can belong to the stem, Dônâsh sets up no theory whatever, but is, in great part, led by his instinct to reject the etymologies of Menahem. On the other hand, Dônâsh is unquestionably superior as an exegetical critic. Here he is generally extremely happy and ingenious. His interpretation of verse 13 of the very difficult Psalm LV. merits quoting. According to Dônâsh, the poet says, speaking of his distress, that, were it simply an enemy against whom he were obliged to contend, he might bear his fate quietly. He could seek refuge from one who hates him, but it is "thou a man of my rank, an associate, an intimate friend." Dônâsh adds, "It is a well-known fact that it is much harder to bear the



reproaches of a friend than those of an enemy, and one can escape an enemy, but it is impossible to avoid a friend, to whom one has poured out one's whole heart."

Again, as already intimated, the use he makes of his thorough acquaintance with Arabic, gives him an advantage over Menahem. He frequently compares Hebrew words with their Arabic equivalents. In one instance he enumerates about 260 words common to Hebrew and Arabic, and defends himself against the objection that was no doubt raised against this comparative method, by pointing out the closeness of the relation existing between the two languages. He also has at least an inkling of a *Lautverschiebungsgesetz*; for he says that there is an interchange of letters among the words as they pass from one language to the other. An י in one becomes frequently a י in the other; a ס here is a ש there; a ש in Hebrew is represented by a ט in Arabic; a ז, by a ד; a ח, by a כ. We also find in his grammar for the first time a systematic division of the parts of speech into nouns, verbs and particles; or, as he calls them, שמות ופועלים ותיבות הענינים. We may be permitted to conclude from this that Dônâsh made a study of Arabic grammarians; for the terms used by Dônâsh represent the Hebrew equivalents of those used by Sibawaihi in his grammar,<sup>1</sup> اسم وفعل وحرف.

In this way, by directing attention to the Arabic as a help towards a better understanding of Hebrew, he paves the way for Abu Zakarijjâ Jahjâ ben Dawûd Hajjûg, who, by a more systematic and more extended application of Dônâsh's comparative method, inaugurates a new era in the study of Hebrew grammar.

<sup>1</sup> *Kûtab Sibawaihi*, ed. by Hartwig Derenbourg (Paris, 1881), vol. I., p. 1.

## →CONTRIBUTED NOTES←

On Job III. 14, הַבָּנִים חֲרֻבוֹת לָמוֹ.—Matthes (*Het Boek Job*, 1876, p. 67) and Kuenen (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1873, p. 518) both suspect the reading of this passage, the latter remarking, "Corruptions of this kind can easily be pointed out, but will seldom if ever be cured." Bickell, however, who is not in general slow to correct, adheres to the Massoretic text, explaining חֲרֻבוֹת, with Schlottmann and Delitzsch, of palaces or monuments destined to become, or (if mausolea) to remain desolate and uninhabited (see his article in *Zeitschrift fuer katholische Theologie*, 1886, Heft 3). Dillmann and Davidson both see that this puts too great a strain upon the expression (cf. Job xv. 28), besides being opposed to Hebrew usage. Both, too, agree with the Dutch critics in suspecting corruption, but neither of them has proposed this very simple correction, viz., for לָמוֹ to read עוֹלָם; cf., for the phrase חֲרֻבוֹת עוֹלָם, Isa. LII. 9; LXI. 4; Jer. XLIX. 13. These three passages, however, need not of course control our exegesis of the corrected phrase. That עוֹלָם may have the sense of "the primeval world" (παλαιος κόσμος, 2 Pet. II. 5) is clear from Job XXII. 15; cf. Ps. CXLIII. 4 (Lam. III. 6); Isa. XLIV. 7; Ezek. XXVI. 20. The last-mentioned passage is specially helpful, because it says (if I am not mistaken) that not only, as in Job XXII. 15, 16, the primeval men themselves, but also their cities, had been thrust down by the Divine Judge into She'ol (cf. Matt. XI. 23). It is of this nether world that the impassioned patriarch Job is speaking. That the wise men whom he and his friends represent meditated on the fate of the antediluvians, is apparent from the passages already referred to. How natural it seems that Job should speak of himself, imaginatively, as meeting in She'ol the mighty kings and counsellors who had built those spacious ruins which challenged the attention of newly admitted "shades" (*Refaim*)! I am well aware of the ingenious explanations of the received text which Matthes and others have collected. To each of them there is some cogent objection. Perhaps it may be objected to my own exegesis that בְּנֵה חֲרֻבוֹת means, in usage, to "build up ruined places;" so it does in Isa. LXI. 4; but must it mean this in a widely different context? We must remember that, according to the popular Semitic belief, the judgment of God was limited to the "land of the living;" tyrant-kings and oppressed subjects were alike "cut away from this hand" in the under-world. Hence, in spite of Job XXII. 15, 16, an innocent child (of rich people) might, in She'ol, become the neighbor of great though sinful kings (as yet there was no division in Hades according to the character of the previous life). Notice, in conclusion, that Job III. 14, interpreted as above, casts a fresh light on verse 15; the speaker is on the verge of the complaint which embitters the subsequent outpourings of his much-tried soul. I mean that we need not explain the gold and silver there mentioned of treasures buried in mausolea, but interpret it in accordance with Isa. v. 14. All the glory of these mighty kings has gone down with them and with their old-world ruined cities into the under-world.

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## ➤BOOK ♦ NOTICES.♦

### **EINLEITUNG IN DEN THALMUD.\***

This excellent treatise of seventy pages is an off-print of the article "Thalmud" in the second edition of Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie. In the preface the author states that it is his purpose to give from an objective and purely scientific stand-point, a bird's eye view, of the field covered by the "Thalmud;" and the testimony must be awarded him that he has fulfilled not only his promise, but also the high expectations warranted by the acknowledged eminence of Strack's scholarship. It is by far the best treatment the subject has ever received in an encyclopædic work. The arrangement is an admirable one, and leaves nothing to be desired. In eight chapters he passes in review briefly and yet, through the copious references which are given, exhaustively the divisions of the work, the arrangement of parts, the contents of the sixty-three treatises of the Talmud. Besides this, he gives a history of the compilation, chronological lists of authorities quoted in the Talmud, and closes with a practically complete bibliographical index. A feature of the monograph which is worthy of note is the consistency with which the method of transcription adopted by Strack is adhered to. In this respect it is a safe guide, although there are some objectionable points in Strack's system, notably the use of two and three letters to indicate *one* sound. But in almost every respect, the monograph is exactly what an introduction should be. Clear and concise, it is not overcharged with ballast unnecessary for the specialist and only confusing to the general student, and by confining itself strictly to the subject, equally free from private conjectures as well as from any bias, whether favorable or unfavorable.

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### **NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.†**

As is stated in the preface, this "volume of notes was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Driver, and is mainly intended for students beginning the Hebrew language. The notes are taken chiefly from the best German commentaries, and do not aim at originality." Including two brief appendices,—one on the structure of Genesis, and the other on the names of God,—there are 380 pages (7½ in. x 5 in.). The book contains notes, textual, grammatical and exegetical, given as briefly as was consistent with the author's aim, very seldom so briefly as to be unintelligible at the first reading. It is a summary of the opinions of the best writers; among commentators, the names of Dillmann and Delitzsch occurring most frequently; and among grammarians, those of Gesenius, Davidson, Stade, Ewald, for the etymology; and Driver and Aug. Müller, for syntax. The readings of the versions are given whenever likely to be of value in evidence. In commenting on difficult verses, the author frequently reserves his

\* EINLEITUNG IN DEN THALMUD. By H. L. Strack. Leipzig, 1887. Price, M.1.20

† NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS. With two appendices. By G. J. Spurrell, M. A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887. New York: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 380. \$2.50.

own opinion; and when the best interpreters are at variance, he does not often attempt to decide among them. There are exceptions to this; e. g., on page 68, where, in interpreting vi. 3, last clause, he decides against Dillmann.

On this side of the water, this book would not be likely to prove as useful for the mere beginner as for the purpose of a rapid and thorough review, for which it has very great excellencies.

There are some points in which the book is open to criticism. At least one statement is out of date,—the remark that “habal” is a common word for son in Assyrian (p. 48). There are a few infelicities of statement: as that (p. 39) in עֲבָרִי the tone is drawn back and the vowel lengthened (the vowel is restored, rather, when naturally it takes the tone); also the remark that masculine nouns prefer the numeral in the feminine form, and *vice versa*, is not quite proper (pp. 71-77); וַיֵּאָכֵל is said to be “pausal form of יֵאָכֵל” (p. 37), and again it is distinguished from וַאֲכָל said to be “the pausal form of the 1st person” (p. 39), no hint being given that וַ is here exceptional. Once in a while a translation adopted by our author is ambiguous; as, e. g., that of Gen. ii. 19, “whatever he called them” (p. 32). It is hardly credible that he could have misunderstood Driver (“Heb. Tenses,” 2d ed., § 38a), or overlooked Dillmann’s interpretation of the verse; but we should know his translation of the final clause, in order to be certain of this; עַד-סֹדֹם, Gen. xiii. 12, does not mean “towards Sodom,” but “as far as Sodom.” It is not usual to speak of תּוֹצֵא as an apoc. form (p. 10). Some exceptions may be taken to the theory of vowel changes here presented. Many distinguished grammarians will object to calling ׀ a short vowel in שִׁמְךָ, גִּפְשֶׁךָ (p. 10). On page 5, the author explains יְהִי as “imperf. apoc. form יִהְיֶה, for יְהִי, weakened from יְהִי (like פָּרִי from פָּרִי, weakened from פָּרִי).” He seems to mean that the ׀ before י is the attenuated ׀ which came from ׀ of the stem. If this is his meaning, he has misunderstood his reference to Gesenius, where it is correctly stated that the final ׀ is a helping vowel, and that the stem vowel ׀ has been reduced to Šwâ in פָּרִי. Cf. the pausal forms יְהִי, פָּרִי, which not only have the ׀, but restore and heighten the original ׀ to ׀. Cf. also תְּהִי and בְּהִי on our author’s opposite page (4). Can the author mean (p. 181) that ת of the 3 fem. perf. omits Šwâ in order to distinguish that pers. from the 2 fem.? With his explanation of וּנְכַחַת here given cf. a note in *HEBRAICA* for April, 1885, p. 250. The author is to be commended for general consistency in transliterations; as, e. g., Onqelos, p. vi, 4, etc.; Onq., p. 18, 37, etc.; Peshittô, p. xii; but why transliterate “Kain,” pp. 47, 48, etc., and “Kri,” pp. 81, 204, etc.? Presumably, he followed Driver in the first instances (“Tenses,” p. 161, though “Onk.” occurs on p. 303, probably by oversight), and he has the same authority for going farther (“Qri,” “Tenses,” p. 161, 204). Only one error in reference has been discovered by the present writer, that on p. 18, where the note on ii. 3 is probably intended for the reference i. 7.

These are of minor importance, and in no wise affect the general accuracy of the book. It is recommended to all who may wish to refresh themselves in Hebrew grammar and to make a rapid survey of the best opinions on the Book of Genesis. As a summary of these, it is in every way admirable.

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## THE HEBREW PENTAMETER.

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The Hebrew pentameter is measured by five beats of the rhythmical accent. The caesura usually comes after the third beat; but not infrequently after the second, so as to give a variation to the movement. The greater portion of Hebrew poetry is in the trimeter movement, the greater portion of the remainder is pentameter. The tetrameters and hexameters are less numerous.

The pentameter line is often treated as if it was composed of two lines in parallelism. But the second half of the pentameter line is not in such marked parallelism with the first as the second line of a trimeter poem. It is rather supplementary to the first half, even when parallelism appears.

1) The first specimen of the pentameter that we shall give is the alphabetical dirge contained in Lamentations III. This dirge has twenty-two strophes in which the initial letter of the strophe begins with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet in the order from א to ת. But the alphabetical structure is not confined to the initial letters of the strophes. Each strophe contains three lines and each line begins with the characteristic letter of the strophe. We shall give four of these strophes as specimens of the twenty-two. Bickell makes these lines of twelve syllables in accordance with his theory of the structure of Hebrew verse. In general, his lines of twelve syllables correspond with our pentameter.

א

אני-הגבר ראה עני | בשבט עברתי  
אותי נהג | וילך חשך ולא-אור  
אך-בי ישב יהפך | ידו כל-היום

\*2



## ב

בלה בשרי ועורי | שבר עצמותי  
בנה עלי | ויקף ראש ותלאה  
במחשכים חושיבני | כמתי עולם

## ג

גדר בערי ולא-אצא | הכביר נחשתי  
גם-כי אזעק ואשוע | שתם תפלתי  
גדר דרכי בגזית | נתיבותי עזה

## ד

דב ארב הוא-לי | אריה במסתרים  
דרכי סורר ויפשחני | שמני שומם  
דרך קשתו | ויציבני כמטרא לחץ

The only changes in the Massoretic text are insertions of Maqqeph between **אני-הגבר** (line 1); **אך-כי** (line 3); **לא-אצא** (line 7); **גם-כי** (line 8); **הוא-לי** (line 10), all of which changes are in accordance with good usage. The lines have the caesura after the third beat of the accent, except in lines 2 and 6; the latter being the only tetrameter line among the twelve. We have seen that there are occasional dimeter lines among the trimeters, and trimeter lines among the tetrameters; so we are not surprised to find a tetrameter among these pentameters.

It will be seen that the parallelism is between the pentameter lines rather than between the two parts of the pentameters; the second half of the pentameter gives a supplementary statement. In some cases this is akin to parallelism, as in lines 4 and 9; but it is noteworthy that in the latter the verb is omitted, showing its dependence upon the first half of the line, and in the former it is really complementary, in that the treatment of the bones is added to the flesh and skin.

2) The second specimen that we shall give is two strophes of the great alphabetical poem in praise of the Divine Word, Psalm cxix. We have here twenty-two strophes, and each strophe is composed of 8 lines, and each line of the strophe begins with the characteristic letter of the strophe. The pentameter movement is clear, and the lines are distinctly marked off by the letters of the alphabet. Bickell also regards the lines of this poem as composed of twelve syllables.

## א

אשרי תמימי-דרך | ההלכים בתורת יהוה  
אשרי נצרי ערתי | בכל-לב ידרשוהו  
אף לא-פעלו עולה | בדרכיו הלכו

אתה צויתה פקדיך | לשמר מאד  
 אחלי יכנו דרכי | לשמר חקיך  
 אז לא-אבדש | בהביטי אל-כל מצותיך  
 אורך בישר-לבב | בלמדי משפטי צדקך  
 את-חקיך אשמר | אל תעזבני ער-מאד

## ב

במה יזכה-נער את-ארחו | לשמר כדרכך  
 בכל-לבי דרשתיך | אל תשגני ממצותיך  
 בלבי צפנתי אמרתך | למען לא-אחטא-לך  
 ברוך אתה יהוה | למדני חקיך  
 בשפתי ספרתי | כל משפטי פיך  
 בדרך עדותיך ששתי | כעל כל-החן  
 בפקודיך אשיחה | ואביטה ארחתיך  
 בחקתיך אשתעשע | לא אשכח דברך

We remove the Maqqeph in א, line 6, between אל-כל and מצותך, which has made it a very long word of six syllables; between אל and תעזבני in א, line 8; between אל and תשגני in ב, line 2, and between משפטי and פיך in ב, line 5. We insert Maqqeph between בישר-לבב in א, line 7, and לא-אחטא-לך in ב, line 3, in both cases having no more than five syllables. There is but a single tetrameter line in the sixteen, namely, in ב, line 7.

3) We shall now give a pentameter prayer with a refrain. This prayer is given in Jonah II. It has two strophes of six lines each; closing with אל-היכל קדשך, and a broken strophe of three lines without a refrain. It seems that the author of Jonah used an older poem, or so much of it as suited his purpose, leaving the third strophe unfinished.

## I.

קראתי מצרה-לי | אל יהוה ויענני  
 מבטן שאול שועתי | שמעת קולי  
 ותשליכני מצולה בלבב-ימים | ונהר יסבבני  
 כל משבריך וגליך | עלי עברו  
 ואני אמרתי | נגרשתי מנגד עיניך  
 אך אוסיף להביט | אל-היכל קדשך

## II.

אפפוני מים ער-נפש | תהום יסבבני  
 סוף חבוש לראשי | לקצבי הרים  
 ירדתי הארץ | ברחיה בערי לעולם

ותעל משחת חיי | יהוה אלהי  
בהתעטף עלי נפשי | את-יהוה זכרתי  
ותבוא אליך תפלתי | אל-היכל קדשך

## III.

משמרים הבלי שוא | חסדם יעזבו  
ואני בקול תודה | אזכחה לך  
אשר נדרתי אשלמה | ישועתה ליהוה

There are three pentameter distichs, the first distich has synonymous parallelisms, the second progressive parallelisms, and the third antithetical parallelism. The caesura is usually after the third beat, but in the fifth line it is after the second beat.

In the second strophe the Massorites made an unfortunate separation of verses 6 and 7. לקצרי הרים goes with the previous line as its complement, making the first distich of this strophe synonymous. The second distich then begins with ירדתי and is antithetical, the second line begins with ותעל. The closing distich is synonymous.

With this change we have again a symmetrical strophe of six pentameter lines exactly like its mate with the refrain. We have found no occasion to change the Massoretic Maqqeph's thus far in this piece. But in the fragment of the third strophe we remove the Maqqeph's between שוא and הבלי (line 1) and between אזכחה and לך. The latter must be removed on account of the caesura, which is immediately before the verb; the former might remain and give us a tetrameter line.

4) The Pilgrim Psalms CXX.-CXXXIV. are all pentameters, with the single exception of the long CXXXII., which is a trimeter that in other respects seems out of place in this little collection. They are fine specimens of pentameters, and the study of the poetical structure aids in the interpretation.

We have seen that Bickell's lines of twelve syllables correspond in general with our pentameters. It is interesting to note that he makes all these Pilgrim Psalms, except CXXXII., of the measure of seven and five, that is, seven syllables in the first line, five in the second, seven in the third and five in the fourth, and so on. The only difference from his metre of twelve syllables is in breaking the line in two; there is no difference in the sum total of syllables. In this Bickell is mistaken, the poems are really the same in their structure as those already considered.

## Psalm CXX.

אליהוה בצרתה לי | קראתי ויענני  
יהוה הצילה נפשי | משפת-שקר מלשן-רמיה  
מה-יתן לך | ומה-יסיף לך לשון-רמיה

חֲצִי גִבּוֹר שְׁנוּנִים | עַם-גַּחְלִי רִתְּמִים  
 אֹיֵה-לִי כִי-גִרְתִּי מִשָּׁךְ | שְׁכַנְתִּי עַם-אֱהִי-קָדֵר  
 רֶבֶת שְׁכֵנָה-לָּה נִפְשִׁי | עַם-שׁוֹנֵא שְׁלוֹם  
 אֲנִי שְׁלוֹם | וְכִי-אֲדַבֵּר הִמָּה לַמַּלְחָמָה

This Psalm gives eight pentameter lines. We notice one of the features of the Pilgrim Psalm, the repetition of certain catch-words, e. g., מִלְשֹׁן רִמְיָה, שָׁכֵן and שְׁלוֹם making a sort of marching rhythm.

## Psalm CXXI.

אִשָּׁא עֵינַי אֶל-הַהָרִים | מֵאֵין-יָבֵא עֲזֹרִי  
 עֲזֹרִי מֵעַם-יְהוָה | עֲשֵׂה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ  
 אֶל-יִתֵּן לְמוֹט רִגְלִךָ | אֶל-יָנוּם שֹׁמֵר  
 הִנֵּה לֹא-יָנוּם וְלֹא-יִישָׁן | שׁוֹמֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 יְהוָה שֹׁמֵר | יְהוָה צִלְךָ עַל-יַד-יְמִינְךָ  
 יוֹמָם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לֹא-יִכְבֶּה | וַיְרַח בַּלַּיְלָה  
 יְהוָה יִשְׁמָרְךָ מִכָּל-רָעָה | יִשְׁמַר אֶת-נַפְשְׁךָ  
 יְהוָה יִשְׁמַר-צִאתְךָ וּבֹאֶךָ | מֵעַתָּה וְעַד-עוֹלָם

These eight lines are pentameters. They carry the marching rhythm further than the previous psalm. עֲזֹרִי of the first line reappears in the second, making this synonymous distich complete in itself. The יָנוּם of line 3 is taken up in line 4, and the שֹׁמֵר of line 4 appears in line 5 and becomes the catch-word of the rest of the poem, in lines 7 and 8. It is possible that יְהוָה of the last line arose by the copyist's eye catching the first word of the upper line. But the Masorites insert a Maqqeph between יִשְׁמַר-צִאתְךָ and there is no reason, from the rhythm, why it should be omitted.

## Psalm CXXII.

שִׁמְחָתִי בִּאֲמָרִים לִי | בֵּית-יְהוָה נֶלְךְ  
 עַמְּרוֹת הָיוּ רִגְלֵינוּ | בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ יְרוּשָׁלַם  
 יְרוּשָׁלַם הִבְנוּיָה | כַּעֲרִיר שִׁחְבָּרָה-לָּה יַחֲדוּ  
 שִׁשָּׁם עָלוּ שְׁבָטִים | שְׁבָטִי יְהוָה  
 עֲדוֹת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל | לַהֲדוֹת לִשְׁם יְהוָה  
 כִּי-שָׁמָּה כִּסְאוֹת לְמִשְׁפָּט | כִּסְאוֹת לְבֵית-דָּוִד  
 שָׁאֲלוּ שְׁלוֹם יְרוּשָׁלַם | יִשְׁלֹו אֶהְבִּיךָ  
 יְהִי שְׁלוֹם בְּחִילְךָ | שְׁלוֹה בְּאַרְמְנוֹתֶיךָ  
 לְמַעַן-אֲחִי וְרַעִי | אֲדַבֵּר-נָא שְׁלוֹם בֵּךְ  
 לְמַעַן בֵּית-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ | אֲבַקֶּשֶׁה טוֹב-לְךָ

This poem of ten lines is composed throughout of pentameter lines. Only one emendation is necessary. We agree with Bickell in removing יִשְׁבֹּן from line 6 before כְּסֹאוֹת. It has come in from the margin, or the mind of the scribe. The line is sufficiently clear without it, and it disturbs the rhythm. We notice the catch-words יְרוּשָׁלַם and שְׁלוֹם.

## Psalm CXXIII.

אֵלֶיךָ נִשְׁאַתִּי אֶת-עֵינִי | הִישָׁבִי בַשָּׁמַיִם  
הִנֵּה כְּעֵינִי עֹבְדִים | אֶל-יָד אֲרוֹנֵיהֶם  
כְּעֵינִי שֹׁפְחָה | אֶל-יָד גְּבֵרָתָהּ  
כֵּן-עֵינֵינוּ | אֶל-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ | עַד שִׁיחַנְנוּ  
חֲנֹנוּ חֲנֹנוּ | כִּי-רַב שִׁבְעֵנוּ בָּהּ  
רַבַּת שִׁבְעָה לָּהּ | נִפְשָׁנוּ הִלְעָג  
לְעַג הַשְׂאֲנָנִים | הִבַּח לִנְאִי יוֹנָם

The first and second lines are evidently pentameters. The third line is a tetrameter as it stands. It is probable that הִנֵּה has been rubbed off at the beginning. The fourth line is a pentameter. כֵּן should be combined with עֵינֵינוּ by a Maqqeph. This gives us a synonymous tetrastich. In the fifth line the Massoretic יְהוָה has slipped in, as often elsewhere in Hebrew literature; we strike it out therefore. The last verse is difficult. The קָרִי very properly reads לִנְאִי יוֹנָם which gives us a pentameter for the last line, but leaves us with a trimeter in the previous line. הִלְעָג is not good grammar before הַשְׂאֲנָנִים. It seems likely that a second לְעַג, a proper construct without the article was originally there, and that it was omitted by a copyist's mistake. The omission of repeated words is as common in copying as the repetition of words by mistake. If we restore it, we remove the fault of grammar, give the verb an object in the same line; make it a pentameter line like all the others in the poem, and give another example of the repetition of a catch-word. The marching rhythm then comes complete and is carried on from the beginning to the end, in עֵינִים, חֲנָן, שִׁבְעַת, חֲנָן, לְעַג. The closing tristich is a fine example of progressive parallelism, in which the first half of the second line is synonymous with the last half of the first, and the second half is progressive thereto. The first half of the third line is synonymous with the second half of the second line, and the second half of the third line is synonymous with the second half of the first line. We have not space for all of the Pilgrim Psalms, and accordingly will select a few others.

## Psalm CXXV.

הַבְּטַחִים בַּיהוָה | כְּהָר צִיּוֹן לֹא-יִמוּט  
לְשׁוֹלֵם יֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם | הָרִים סְבִיבָלָהּ

ויהוה סביב לעמו | מעתה ועד-עולם  
 כילא-ינוח שבט הרשע | על-גורל הצדיקים  
 למען לא-ישלחו הצדיקים | בעולתה ידיהם  
 הטיבה יהוה לטובים | ולישרים בלבותם  
 והמטים עקלקלותם | יליכם יהוה את-פעלי-האון  
 שלום על ישראל

The Massorites have divided verses 1 and 2 unfortunately. לעולם ישב goes with ירושלם, and thus we have a fine specimen of introverted parallelism with the third line, in which the first half of the second line is synonymous with the second half of the third, as the second half of the first line with the first half of the third, and the three lines make a tristich. We next have a progressive distich, which is followed by an antithetical distich and a trimeter refrain.

## Psalm CXXVI.

בשוב יהוה את-שבית-ציון | היינו כחלמים  
 אזימלא שחוק פינו | ולשוננו רגה  
 אזיאמרו בנים | הנריל לעשות עם-אלה  
 הנריל לעשות עמנו | היינו שמחים  
 שובה יהוה את-שביתנו | כאפיקים בנגב  
 הזרעים בדמעה | ברנה יקצרו  
 הלך ילך ובכה | נשא משך-הזרע  
 בא יבא ברנה | נשא אלמתיו

The divine name יהוה, by scribal error, appears in the Massoretic text of lines 3 and 4 with הנריל, where it was unnecessary, as the subject of the verb is clear from the context. We have stricken it out. We also follow the קרי in line 5, reading שביתנו. We correct the scribal blunder of line 1, and read שבת for the שיבת which has arisen by transposition of the letters ' and ב. The changes of the Maqqeph can hardly be objected to with propriety. They are made to accord with good usage. The removal of a Massoretic Maqqeph between בא and יבא in the last line makes it more harmonious with הלך of the previous line. This Psalm is composed of two tetrastichs; they are both of great beauty. The first is an example of introverted parallelism. The first and fourth lines are synonymous throughout. The second line is synonymous with the last half of the first and fourth lines; and the third line is synonymous with the first half of these lines. The second tetrastich is entirely different in structure. The second line is progressive to the first; and is of the tetrameter movement in order to bring out a strong antithesis between its two equal members.

This antithesis then expands in the antithetical lines that follow, where the third line is synonymous with the first half of the second, and the fourth line with its second half.

Psalm CXXX.

ממעמקים קראתיך | אדני שמעה בקולי  
 תהייה אוניך קשבות | לקול תחנוני  
 אם-עונות תשמר-יה | אדני מי יעמר  
 כי עמך הסליחה | למען תורא  
 קייתי יהוה | קותה נפשי ולדברו  
 הוחלתי נפשי לאדני | משמרים לבקר  
 שמרים לבקר | יחל ישראל אל-יהוה  
 כי-עם-יהוה החסד | והרבה עמו פדות  
 והוא יפדה את-ישראל | מכל עונותיו

The Massoretic text obscures the movement in several places. יהוה slipped into the first line and was the occasion of an incorrect division of the verses. We agree with Bickell and strike it out. Then we have a distich of pentameters in which there is introverted parallelism between the halves of the lines. The second distich is antithetical. In the three lines that follow, the Massoretic accentuation and verse divisions destroy the poetry altogether. We therefore discard them and follow the LXX., and thereby gain not only the pentameter but also a better parallelism. As the first line begins with קייתי, the sixth line begins with its synonymous הוחלתי. The transition from the first person of the verb to נפשי is in accordance with the change from קולי to אקוא in Psalm III. 5. We have, moreover, another parallelism between לדברו and לאדני making the first half of the sixth line synonymous with the second half of the fifth line. The seventh line begins with שמרים לבקר, which is another example of the marching movement so common in these Psalms, and it results in another case of introverted parallelism between these two lines. These three lines are accordingly bound together in synonymous parallelism. The eighth line is now synonymous with the fourth, and the ninth line is in strong antithesis with the third; so that our Psalm is really composed of an opening distich of prayer for redemption; and a concluding heptastich of great beauty setting forth the assurance of the redemption of Israel.

5) We shall now give the dirge of Babylon (Isa. XLVII), which is one of the finest pieces in the Old Testament.

I.

רדי ושבי על-עפר | בתולת בת-בבל  
 שבי לארץ אץ-כסא | בת כשרים

כי-לא תוסיפי יקראו-לך | רכה וענגה  
 קחי רחים וטחני-קמח | גלי צמתך  
 חשפי שבל גלי-שוק | עברי נהרות  
 תגל ערותך | גם תראה הרפתך  
 נקם אקח | ולא אפגע אדם

This strophe is composed of a tristich of two synonymous lines with third progressive thereto; and a tetrastich of three synonymous lines with the fourth progressive to it. Lines 3 and 4 might be taken as three tetrastichs, but they are better as we have given them, the first of them referring to bondage, the second to exile.

## II.

שבי דומם ובאי-בחשך | בת כשרים  
 כי-לא תוסיפי יקראו-לך | גברת ממלכות  
 קצפתי על עמי | חללתי נחלתי  
 ואתנם בידך | לא-שמת להם רחמים  
 על זקן הכבוד | עלך מאד  
 ותאמרי לעולם אהיה | גברת ער  
 לא-שמת אלה על-לבך | לא-זכרת אחריתה

I agree with Eichhorn and Cheyne that the line גאלנו יהוה צבאות שמו has come in from the margin as a scribal exclamation of praise. It disturbs the thought of the piece as well as the structure of the strophe. I also agree with Cheyne in separating ער from שמת, where it gives no good sense, and in attaching it to גברת in line 6.

This strophe begins with an imperative, and its first and second lines resemble the second and third lines of the previous strophe, so that we have a progressive distich. A progressive tristich takes up the middle of the strophe, and it concludes with a synonymous distich.

## III.

ועתה שמעי-זאת עדינה | הישבת לבטח  
 האמרה בלבבה | אני ואפסי עוד  
 לא-אשב אלמנה | ולא אדע שכול  
 ותבאנה לך שתי-אלה | רגע ביום אחד  
 שכול ואלמן | כתמם באו עליך  
 ברב כשפיך | בעצמת הברך מאד  
 ותבטחי ברעתך | אמרת אין ראני



This strophe also begins with an imperative, and **הישבת לבטח** corresponds with **בת-בבל** and **בת בשרים** of the previous strophes, **לבטח** of the first line reappears in **ותבטחי** of the last line. The strophe is a heptastich in which there is a sort of introverted parallelism about the fourth line as a centre.

## IV.

(רעי) חכמתך ודעתך | היא שובבתך  
 ותאמרי בלבך | אני ואפסי עוד  
 ובא עליך רעה | לא-תרעי שחרה  
 ותפל עליך הוה | לא-תוכלי כפרה  
 ותבא עליך פתאם | שאה לא-תרעי  
 עמדי-נא בחברך וברב-כשפיך | באשר-יגעת מנעורך  
 אולי תוכלי הועיל | גלאית ברב-עצתך

We insert **רעי** at the beginning in accordance with the LXX. and the usage of the poet to begin each strophe with an imperative or jussive. We follow the LXX. and Arabic Versions, and omit the Massoretic **אולי תערורי** from the last line. The sixth line is quite long. It is possible that **ברב כשפיך** is a marginal insertion from line 6 of the previous strophe, with which it is parallel. The opening distich of this strophe corresponds with that of the previous strophe, the second line being the same with the exception of the substitution of **ן** with Imperfect for the Participle with the article, and the first lines are synonymous. We next have a synonymous tristich which corresponds with lines 4 and 5 of the previous strophe. The strophe ends with a synonymous distich which also corresponds with the last distich of the previous strophe. The entire strophe is accordingly synonymous with the previous strophe.

## V.

יעמדו-נא וישיעך | הברי-שמים החזים בכוכבים  
 מודיעים לחרשים | מאשר יבאו עליך  
 הנה היו כקש | אש שרפתם  
 ולא יצילו את-נפשם | מיד להבה  
 אין-גחלת לחמם | אור לשבת נגרו  
 כן-היו-לך אשר יגעת | סחרך מנעורך  
 איש לעברו תעו | אין משיעך

This strophe begins with a jussive on account of its reference to the magicians. The **וישיעך** of the first line is the catch-word of the strophe that reappears in **אין משיעך** of the last line. The strophe as a whole is progress-

ive to the previous pair of strophes. The opening distich has synonymous parallelism between the second member of the first line and the first member of the second, but the second member of the second line is progressive to the first member of the first line. The middle of the strophe is a synonymous tristich. The strophe comes to an end with a progressive distich.

We have selected the above specimens of the pentameter, not only to show the pentameter movement where it is evident in the alphabetical poems, but also in order to show the help the study of poetry gives to the criticism of the text, and so an understanding of the parallelism upon which the interpretation depends.

Our next paper will treat of the Hebrew Hexameter.

## THE TARGUM TO JEREMIAH.

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It may be taken as generally conceded that the Targums, although based substantially on the Massoretic text, yet occasionally show traces of variation. The amount and value of such variation has not yet been definitely settled however, and, in investigating the text of Jeremiah, I have been led to look into the Targum. The results are embodied in this paper.

I have used for comparison the Hebrew text of Jablonsky (Berlin, 1699), mainly, because my copy has a wide margin, convenient for notes. Wherever this paper speaks of M.T. (=Massoretic text) this edition is meant. As this edition has a good reputation for correctness, it may be taken as fairly representative of the accepted Hebrew.

The text of the Targum is notoriously in a bad condition, and the means of correcting it are inaccessible in this country. The printed copies may be arranged in three classes—that of Bomberg repeated in Buxtorf,<sup>1</sup> (b) that of the Antwerp and Paris polyglotts (a), and that of Lagarde,<sup>2</sup> Codex Reuchlinianus, (r), the oldest known manuscript, at least the oldest that can be dated with certainty. These three have been collated by Cornill in the *Zeitschrift fuer die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1887, pp. 178 sqq. I have relied upon this collation in comparing the Targum with the Hebrew.

The Targum to Jeremiah presents the characteristics of the other Targums. A considerable portion of it may be called a close translation. In many cases, however, it expands by the insertion of words or phrases. In others, it paraphrases or interprets. Instead of figurative expressions, it sometimes gives their direct meaning as understood by the translator. Especially where the Hebrew is obscure it is apt to give a paraphrase, and in these passages it is sometimes difficult to make out the text which the translator had before him. An example or two will illustrate these features. The very first verse of the book will serve. The Hebrew has "The words of Jeremiah, son of Hilkiyah, of the priests who were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin." The Targum renders "The words of prophecy of Jeremiah, son of Hilkiyah, of the chiefs of the priests of the prefects that were in Jerusalem, the man who had received his inheritance in the land of Anathoth, in the land of the tribe of Benjamin." I have italicized the additions which

<sup>1</sup> According to Cornill (*Ezechiel* p. 112) Walton's polyglott has Buxtorf's text with the Antwerp translation, "adapted" in places.

*Prophetæ Chaldaice.* Paulus Lagarde e fide codicis reuchliniani edidit. Lipsiæ, 1872.

are here quite extensive. It would seem at first sight that a translator who allows himself such liberties could not be relied upon at all. After a little, we see however, that the additions are generally limited to certain cases that can be easily distinguished. The names Judah, Benjamin, etc., are generally preceded by the word *tribe*, as though it were the translator's habit to speak of them in this way. The desire to avoid anthropomorphisms will account for a large number of cases. The *Word of Jehovah* is expanded into *the Word of prophecy from before the Lord*. Where God himself speaks in the first person the Targum substitutes *My Word* (מימרי). In i. 8, Jeremiah says "Jehovah put forth his hand and touched my mouth," the Targum renders "The Lord sent forth the words of his prophecy and arranged [them] in my mouth." Jeremiah's strong expression (addressed to God) "thou hast surely deceived this people" (iv. 10) is softened into "false prophets are deceiving this people." So where the prophet (under the influence of strong emotion, no doubt) says (xiv. 8, 9), "Why shouldst thou be like a stranger in the land, and like a traveler who turns aside to lodge? why shouldst thou be like a man taken by surprise, like a strong man not able to save?" the Targum gives us "Why should thy wrath descend upon us and we be like sojourners in the land and like a traveler that turneth aside to lodge? why should thy wrath descend upon us and we be driven about and forsaken when thou art a strong man able to save?" As an example of interpretation in translating, we may notice i. 11. The prophet sees an *almond rod* according to Hebrew. In the Targum he sees a *king watching to do evil*. For a *boiling pot with its face to the North* is put a *king raging like a pot and his army marshalled and coming from the face of the North*. In ii. 1, *thy coming after me in the wilderness* is rendered or paraphrased—that they believed in my word and came after my two messengers after Moses and Aaron in the wilderness for forty years. The priests are not allowed to say (ii. 7) "where is Jehovah," but—let us fear before the Lord. The *lions* of the Hebrew (ii. 15) become *kings* in the translation. One curious case is where Ebed-Melech, the Cushite, is translated "a servant of King Zedekiah," as though Zedekiah were called the Cushite in derision. These examples, which might be multiplied tenfold without difficulty, will suffice to show the method of the translator. The immediate question is, whether, in spite of the difficulties arising from the method, the Targum is of any real help to us in throwing light upon the Hebrew. In order to answer this question, we must leave out of view all these eccentricities of interpretation and consider only those cases which seem to indicate a various reading. Strictly speaking a variant exists only where the consonantal text is affected. We suppose the Targumist not to have been acquainted with the Massoretic vowel points. In a few cases he pronounced a word differently from what the punctuators indicate. These variants (in a minor sense) may at least be mentioned. We read in vi. 2 "*I have destroyed the daughter of Zion*." The Targum renders רמית by קלקלת, apparently taking it as a second person feminine = רמית.

The fuller form (with *yeah*) is found elsewhere in Jeremiah. In II. 18, יְהוָה is translated as though it were יְהוָה (so LXX); XVIII. 17 for אֱלֹהֵי תַרְגִּימוֹ and LXX. read אֱלֹהֵי; XXXIII. 28 נִבְאִי is translated מַעֲבָר (= נְבִיא). This is to be sure a variation in the consonants, but the omission or insertion of a vowel letter is extremely common. In XXX. 13 the noun הַעֲלִילָה is translated as though it were הַעֲלִילָה; XXXVI. 15 שֶׁ of the Hebrew becomes שֶׁ; LI. 17 "for a lie is his image," the Targum has "for a lie have they cast"—נִסְכֵּי for נִסְכֵּי.

The real variants may be divided into two classes: those in which the Targum agrees with the LXX. and those in which the Targum has not this support. Readings of the former class have a strong probability in their favor owing to the independent nature of their testimony. If I have correctly observed the facts, the Targum and the LXX. agree together as against the M.T. in the following instances: III. 18, "which I made your fathers inherit": *their fathers*.<sup>1</sup> IV. 8, "for thus saith Jehovah to the men of Judah and to Jerusalem": to the *inhabitants of Jerusalem*. IV. 8, "heat of the wrath of Jehovah": *omit of the wrath*. IV. 26, "from before his wrath": *and from before*. VII. 27, "all these words": *omit all*. IX. 6, "for what shall I do on account of the daughter of my people": *on account of the evil of the daughter of my people*. XI. 19, "let us destroy the tree": *saying come and let us destroy*.<sup>2</sup> XVII. 13, "and ye shall serve there other gods day and night because I will not show you mercy"—אֲשֶׁר לֹא אֶתֵּן לָכֶם חַיִּים. The LXX. has οὐ οὐ δέσποτες ὑμῶν ἔσονται, the Targum דְּלֹא יִהְיֶה לָכֶן רַחֲמִין. The former points to יִחְיֶה; of the latter I am not quite certain, though it certainly is not the natural translation of the M.T. We can account for the change from יִחְיֶה on dogmatic reasons (it seemed to recognize the real existence of other gods),<sup>3</sup> and perhaps the same reasons would lead the Targum to make its rendering indefinite. [I, Jehovah] "try the reins and to give" (XVII. 15): *omit and*. "Jehovah hath saved thy people" (XXXI.): *his people*. "And they turned to me back and not face and to teach [וְלִמְדָּם] them rising early and teaching (XXXII. 38) (וְלִמְדָּם): LXX. has καὶ ἐδίδαξα (= and I taught them). Targum וְלִמְדָּם נְבִיאִי which evidently points to the same reading, though so long a paraphrase. וְלִמְדָּם is the original of both and is exactly the form needed. It may have been corrupted by the following וְלִמְדָּם. XXXIV. 5, "and 'alas Lord' shall they mourn for him": *omit and*. XXXV. 17, "Jehovah God of Hosts": Jehovah of Hosts. As I pointed out recently, interpolations of this kind are very frequent.<sup>4</sup> "All the former words which were upon

<sup>1</sup> I put the Massoretic reading first, then, after a colon, that in which the two versions agree.

<sup>2</sup> In this case the insertion of the word *saying* is almost necessary to the sense of a translation. It is possible, therefore, that both versions put it in without authority from their text.

<sup>3</sup> I owe this observation to Professor Stade.

<sup>4</sup> Even here the testimony of the Targums is not homogeneous, nor is that of the LXX. But on the principle that the versions are more likely to be corrected into conformity with the M.T. than to be changed away from it we may assume the discrepant MSS. to preserve the original especially when two (one from each version) agree.

the former roll (xxxvi. 28): omit the italicized word. To Jeremiah, *the prophet* (xxxvii. 6): omit *the prophet*. This again is a case of frequent occurrence, and although only one edition of the Targum has the shorter text, its concurrence with the LXX. is significant. In xl. 5, the translators seem not to have had our present text before them, and agree in substituting **לאם לא** for **עורנו לא** (LXX. *ei dē mē*, Tar. **ואם לית**). “And Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareah” (xl. 8): and Johanan, son of Kareah. xli. 10, “the daughters of the king”: insert *and*. xlii. 22, “with famine”: *and* with famine. L. 11 insert ׀ before the second כִּי. L. 29, both versions agree with the Q<sup>r</sup>i in inserting **לה**.

If any reader will look at these passages in his Hebrew Bible I am sure he will find the internal evidence in their favor in every case unless it be the one already noted, xi. 19. To be sure the list is not very large and the corrections are of no great importance. Textual criticism, however, deals with minutiae. The list of passages in which the Targum alone indicates a various reading is larger. It is as follows:

II. 6, “from *the land* of Egypt”: from Egypt. II. 9, “therefore I will *yet* strive with you”: omit *yet*. III. 16, omit **עור** after **יאמרו** but insert it after **זכרו**. III. 20, “surely a woman rebels from her companion, so have ye rebelled against me”: surely *like as* [כמו] a woman. III. 21, “the weeping of the supplications [בכי תחנוני] of the children of Israel”: the children of Israel weep and sigh [בכו ונאנחו = רבנן ומתאנחין]. IV. 23, omit ׀ before **הנה**. IV. 29, **כל העיר** makes a difficulty because **בהן** in the next clause refers back to this: **כל קיריהן** is the reading of the Targum; the LXX strikes out the article reading **כל עיר**, showing that both felt difficulty. The latter is more likely to be the original text, and possibly the Targum gives a free translation of this. IV. 30, “lovers have rejected thee”: *thy* lovers—**ענבים** for **ענבים**. VI. 28, “all of them are turning aside to rebels” **כלם סורי סוררים**: all their princes are rebels = **כל שריהם סוררים**. X. 4, “with silver and with gold he decorates it” [״פירו״]: he *covers* it (reading apparently **חפרו**). X. 8, “the instruction of vanities [מוסר הבליים], wood is it”: and because they served vanities—for of what value are they? [ועל דפלחו לטעוותא ארי למא אנן]. I suspect the Targumist had a different reading for **מוסר**, though what it was I am not able to say. The latter part of the sentence may be simply a free rendering. X. 21, for **השכילו** read **שכילו**. XI. 14, “in the time of their crying to me on account of their evil”: in the time when thou prayest for them in the time of their evil—**בער** for **בעת** and **אלי** for **עליהם**, **קראם** for **קראך**. The Targum is the more natural reading, as the prophet has just been commanded *himself* not to pray for the people. XV. 13, “and in all thy borders”: omit *and*. XVII. 1, “*your* altars”: *their* altars. XVII. 3, “thy high places with sin” [במתין בחטאת]: for sins because ye were worshiping vanity. This is a paraphrase, but it seems to point to **בחטאת במותין**, simply reversing the order of the two words. This would

make the form חמא regular also. XVIII. 4, כחמר : דמינא pointing to כ instead of כ. XX. 5, "all the treasure of this city": of this land. XX. 6, "and to Babylon thou shalt come" [תבוא]: shalt be led [תתובל] probably reading תובא]. XXI. 14, "and I will kindle a fire in her forest": in her city [עיר for יער]. XXII. 3, insert ן before אל-תחמסן. The preceding word ends in ן and the conjunction has probably dropped out under this influence. XXIII. 4, "and shall not be missing" (ׁולא יפקדו): and shall not tremble (evidently reading יפחדו). XXIII. 8, "and from all the lands": omit all. XXV. 22, "and to your dreams": and to your dreamers of dreams; so also XXIX. 8 and XXXIV. 8, and this renders it possible that it is simply a case of free translation. XXVII. 20, omit כל. XXIX. 16, "that inhabits this city": this land. XXX. 21, omit את לכו. XXX. 23, insert ן before סער. XXXII. 21, "and with great fear" [מורא]: with a great vision [חזונא]. The Targum seems to have read or understood מראה. XXXII. 23, insert ן before לא עשו. XXXII. 32, one recension<sup>1</sup> (b) omits כהניהם. XXXIV. 4, for תתקטיל for תמות, which would seem to point to תומת. XXXIV. 9, "to lay service upon them, upon a Jew his brother each man" [ביהורי אחיהו איש]. The Targum has יהודאה יהודאי and this is the natural order in Hebrew also. איש, when used distributively as in this verse, generally comes at the beginning of the clause, as in this same chapter elsewhere, v. 10 איש את עברו, v. 14 איש את אחיו. XXXIV. 12, (a) omits the first יהוה, which is certainly redundant in our present text. XXXV. 4, for בני חנן read חנן בן חנן. In XXXVIII. 16, Zedekiah swears by Jehovah who made for us this soul; Targum (r) the soul, which is more accurate. XLII. 10, "if returning ye will dwell" [אם שוב תשבן], but it is generally the same verb which is found in the infinitive joined with a finite form. The Targum at least feels the difficulty, for it reads תשובו for the second word. The LXX., however, is probably correct in reversing the process and reading ישוב (καθίστατες). In XLIV. 3, omit המה (b); LXX. omits the last three words of the verse. In XLIV. 6 (ar) insert ן before לשממה. XLVI. 10 ולא. In XLVIII. 30, omit ן from קדם "צבאות": (b) לארני יהוה צבאות. In XLVIII. 31 insert ן before אל אנשי. XLIX. 30, עליכם: עליהם, which is also given as a קרי in Buxtorf. L. 40, for יהוה אלהים read יהוה.

We have then about twenty cases in which the Targum confirms the evidence of the LXX., and about fifty cases in which it alone witnesses to a different text from the one current among us. Probably I have overlooked some instances. But assuming this to be nearly correct, we may say roughly that in seventy passages the Targum helps us to settle the text of the book of Jeremiah. The amount of variation is the object of this inquiry, and until we have a critical edition of the Targum itself this may stand as an approximate result. It does not follow from the fact of variation that the Targum is always correct. That

<sup>1</sup> I have not always specified where a reading was not supported by all copies of the Targum.

must be decided in each instance separately. But the indications already given will show that in a considerable proportion of the passages cited (more than half, I judge) the Targum has preserved for us the better text. At least in settling our text it will not be safe to ignore this version.

As I have already indicated it is not always easy to determine when the Targum had our text. I have carefully excluded a number of cases in which nevertheless a different reading may have existed. Some one else may be able to find clear testimony among these uncertain sounds and I will therefore give a list of *possible variations*.

V. 10, "go up against [or upon] her walls" — בשרותיה, Targum בקרוהא possibly reading בעריה or even בשעריה. But as in the same verse we have "her branches" rendered "her citadels" this may be only an instance of interpretation by the translator. XIII. 17, "my soul shall weep because of pride" [גור]: because your treasure passes from you—דערי מנכן יקרכון. The only way in which I can account for this translation is to suppose the Targum to have read גזה or בזה. XVI. 7, "and they shall not make them drink the cup of consolation for his father and his mother": each one for his father (inserting גבר = איש). XVII. 2, "their asheras on a green tree": under every green tree (כל תחות על for the על of M. T.). If תחת dropped out כל might be changed to על. "We shall take our revenge upon him" (xx. 10): we shall be revenged our revenge upon him. For נקחה the Targum may have read נקמה. "Rock of the plain" (xxi. 13) [צור המישר]: fortified cities does not seem a natural translation or even interpretation of these words; it seems to imply עיר מצור or ערי המצור. In Ps. xxxi. 22 we find עיר מצור. XXVI. 10, "the new gate" is in the Targum the eastern gate (so also xxxvi. 10), "And ye shall call me and shall go [והלכתם] and shall pray to me" (xxix. 12). For the words in italics the Targum has "and I will hear your prayer" [ואקבל צלותכן]. In xxxviii. 22 והנה: omit ו (b). This is a case where a translator might leave out the conjunction as not necessary to the sense. L. 15, for ידה we find ידיוהו. LI. 55, "and will destroy from her a great voice" [קול גדול]: great armies [משרין סניאין] which would, barring the plural, stand for חיל גדול. LII. 29, the Targum inserts אנלי before מירושלם [necessary to the sense].

I have not kept a list of the passages where the discrepancy of M. T., LXX. and Targum is so great as to show that no one of the translators was able to make out what his text meant. We should be justified in concluding from such discrepancy that the text has been corrupted beyond present possibility of emendation. This would be only a negative result however. The data which have been presented seem to me to have some positive value.



# CYLINDER B OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS (11,114. BRITISH MUSEUM; III R.15-16) TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED.

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This cylinder has usually been called the "Broken Cylinder" or C, but I have preferred to designate it as B, because it is larger, better preserved and, perhaps, more important than the unnumbered cylinder, which I have called C.<sup>1</sup> B was first published in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851), pp. 54-58, under the title "On lower half of an Hexagonal object of Baked Clay." It appeared again in III R. 15, 16, edited by George Smith. This edition is very much better than that of Layard, but, on account of the extremely bad condition of the original of B, many errors are to be found in it. Columns I., II. and V. 12-25 were published by Budge in *History of Esarhaddon* (London, 1880). Budge's edition is little, if any, better than George Smith's. Cf. Delitzsch's review in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, May 21, 1881. Column I. 2-25 has been published by Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3d edition, p. 117, No. 7, and by Bruto Teloni in his *Chrestomazia Assira* (Firenze, 1887), pp. 60-62, and, finally, Column V., 12-27 by Schrader in his *Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglathpileser's II, des Asarhaddon und des Asurbani-pal* (Berlin, 1880).

Translations of Cylinder B have been published by Menant, *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1874); by Fox Talbot, *Records of the Past*, vol. III. and in the *North British Review*, 1870, [Column I.]; by Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*, [Columns I., II. and V. 12-25]; by Delitzsch, in Mürdter's *Kurzgefasste Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Stuttgart, 1882), p. 207, [Column I. 2-25]; by Teloni, *Chrestomazia Assira*, pp. 60-62, [Column I. 2-25]. Cf. also Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies* and Schrader in *KGF.* and *KAT.*

During the summer of 1885, while working in the Assyrian Room of the British Museum, I collated Cylinders A and B and copied C. The results of this collation have been published in the April (1887) number of *HEBRAICA* and later in my Leipzig Inaugural-dissertation. Many important and hitherto unnoticed corrections and readings will be found in these "Textual Notes."

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<sup>1</sup> Published for the first time in the October (1887) *HEBRAICA*. Cf. also my Leipzig Inaugural-dissertation, *Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions*, etc.

There are many difficult words and idioms in Cylinder B and I have offered several new transliterations and translations. In a future number of *HEBRAICA*, I will discuss, among others, the following words and combinations: ašûr, kuššu, nîtu, kutû, pariktu, nabâlu, mi-šid(?), dâbtu, bâşu, puḫuttu, the names of the eight kings in column IV. 19-22, my combination of the lines 1-10, column V. (hitherto incorrectly understood), V. 7, ešḫu, aḫaztu (= property, Eigenthum), amuhḫaşunu, zak-mukku (= ראש השנה), izkurû (A, I. 42), kullumu, asi, ummân-manda, ṭârid, nâbi', šâtu (= šadâdu), aktabišu ahu[lap](?), šaḫâtu, askuppât agurrê, bitanni (= ביתן), sikkatu, A, VI. 1-10, A, VI. 18, amkira ṣurraşun, etc., etc.

In the transliteration, I have practically followed the method of the Delitzsch school. In the October (1887) *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, Paul Haupt proposes another "new system of transliteration for the Semitic sounds." It remains to be seen whether this attempt will survive any longer than his previous one set forth with so much confidence in his *Beitraege zur assyr. Lautlehre*.

To my friend, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches of the British Museum, I am indebted for many readings to be found in the "Textual Notes," which were published in April *HEBRAICA*, 1887. I am also under obligations to my teacher, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, for many suggestions and renderings.

## TRANSLITERATION.

## CYLINDER B.

- I. 1. ušaršid ušaršit(?).....  
 labbiš annadirma iṣṣariḫ kabittī  
 aššu epēš šarrūti bīt abē'a nipir(?) šangūti'a  
 ana Ašūr Sin Šamaš Bēl Nabū u Nērgal
5. Ištār ša Ninā Ištār ša Arba'il  
 ḫātī aššīma imgurū ḫibitī  
 ina annišunu kēni....takiltu(?)  
 ištaparūnima alik lā kalāta  
 idāka nittallakma nināra garēka
10. ištēn ūme šinā ūme ūl uḫḫī pān ummāni'a ūl adgul  
 arkā ūl āmur piḫitti sisē ṣimitti niri  
 ūl unūt taḫāzi'a ūl ašūr  
 ṣidēt girri'a ūl ašpuk  
 raggu kuṣṣu Šabātu dannat kuṣṣi ūl ādur
15. kīma iṣṣūri si-si-in-ni mupparši  
 ana sakāp za'ēri'a aptā idā'a  
 ḫarrān Ninā pašḫiṣ urruḫiṣ ardīma  
 ellamū'a ina irṣiti Hanigalbat(?) gimir ḫurādēšun  
 ṣirūti pān girri'a ṣabtūma ušālū kakkēšun
20. puluḫti ilāni rabūti bēlē'a iṣḫupšunūtima  
 tib taḫāzi'a danni ēmurūma ēmū maḫḫutiš(?)  
 Ištār bēlit ḫabli taḫāzi rā'imat šangūti'a  
 idā'a tāzizma ḫašatsunu tašbir  
 taḫāzišunu raksū tapṭurma
25. ina puḫrišunu iḫbū umma annū šarani  
 ina ḫibitī ṣirti idā'a ittanasharū iḫbū

- Col. II. 1. ....  
 . . . karassu idkēma ana Nin-gal-mu(?)  
 šalaṭ Ūru ardu dāgil pāni'a  
 nītu ilmēsuma iṣbatu mūṣāšu
5. ultu Ašūr Šamaš Bēl u Nabū Ištār ša Ninā  
 Ištār ša Arba'il iāti Ašūrahiddin  
 ina kussē abē'a ṭābiš ušēšibūnima

## TRANSLATION.

## CYLINDER B.

- Col. I. 1. . . . .  
 I was fierce like a lion and my heart (Gemüth) was enraged.  
 To exercise the sovereignty of my father's house and to clothe my  
 priestly office,  
 to Ašûr, Sin, Šamaš, Bel, Nabu and Nergal,  
 5. Istar of Nineveh, Istar of Arbela,  
 I raised my hand and they looked with favor on my petition.  
 In their eternal mercy, an oracle  
 they sent me, viz.: "Go, do not delay;  
 we will march at thy side and will subjugate thy enemies."  
 10. One day, two days I did not wait, the front of my army I did not  
 look upon,  
 the rear I did not see, the appointments of my yoked horses,  
 the weapons for my battle I did not inspect,  
 provisions for my campaign I did not issue.  
 The furious cold of the month Šabātu, the fierceness of the cold, I  
 did not fear. *ALLOW*  
 15. Like a flying si-si-in-ni bird  
 for the overthrow of my enemies, I opened out my forces.  
 The road to Nineveh, with difficulty and haste, I descended.  
 Before me in Hanigalbat, all of their lofty warriors  
 seized the front of my expedition and forced a battle.  
 20. The fear of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them,  
 the approach of my mighty battle they saw and they became  
 like . . . .  
 Istar, the mistress of onslaught and battle, the lover of my priestly  
 office,  
 stood at my side and broke their bows.  
 Their compact line of battle she broke up  
 25. and in their assembly they cried: "This is our king."  
 Col. II. 1. . . . .  
 . . . . his camp-baggage he gathered together and against  
 Nin-gal-mu,  
 governor of Uru, a servant dependent on me,  
 with a force he surrounded him and seized his exits.  
 5. From the time that Ašûr, Šamas, Bêl and Nabû, Istar of Nineveh,  
 Istar of Arbela, me Esarhaddon  
 on the throne of my fathers, had firmly seated

bêlûd mâti ušadgilû pâni'a šû ûl iplah  
nade aḥê ûl iršîma ardî ûl umaššîr

10. u rakbušu adî maḥri'a

ûl išpuramma šulmu šarrûti'a ûl iš'al  
epšêtêšu limnêtê ina kirib Ninâ ašmêma  
libbi igugma išsariḥ kabittî šudšâkê'a  
piḥâti ša pâti mâtišu uma'ir šîruššu

15. u šû Nabû-zêr-napišti-uštêšîr barânû nabalkattânu

alâk ummâni'a išmêma ana Elamti kî šêlabis innabit  
aššu mâmît ilâni rabûti ša êparku<sup>1</sup>(?) Ašûr Sin šamaš  
Bêl u Nabû annu kabtu emêdûšuma  
kirib Elamti inârûšu ina kakki

20. Na'id-Marduk aḥûšu epšêt Elamti

ša ana aḥêšu êteppušu êmurma  
ultu Elamti innabtamma ana epêš ardûti'a  
ana Ašûr illikamma ušallâ bêlûti  
Tâmtim ana siḥirtiša ridûd aḥêšu ušadgil pânuššu

25. šattišamma lâ naparkâ itti tamartešu kabitte

ana Ninâ illikamma unaššaḳa šêpê'a  
Abdimilkûtu šar Sidûni  
lâ pâliḥ bêlûti'a lâ šêmû zikir šapti'a  
ša elî tâmtim gallati ittakluma islû nîri'a

30. Sidûni âl tuklatišu ša kirib tâmti nadû

(Cf. Cylinder A, I. 9, sqq.)

Col. III. . . . . (Cf. Cylinder A, II. 6, sqq.) . . . .

1. ina iršit Hubuš[na(?)] adî gimîr ummânišu  
urassiba [ina kakki].

Akbus kišâdi nišê [Hilakki]

Du'ua âšibût [ḥuršâni]

5. ša têḫi Tabala . . . . .

ša elî šadêšunu dannûti [ittaklûma]  
ultu ûme pâni lâ kitnu[šû ana nîri]  
XXI âlânišunu dannûti adî [âlâni šihrûti]  
ša limêtišunu almê ak[šud ašlula šallatsun]

<sup>1</sup> This reading is doubtful. The text is badly broken. One can read ê-tê-ku as well as ê-par-ku.

and the dominion of the land had trusted to me, he did not fear,  
he did not turn aside, and did not cease to be my servant,

10. but his messenger, into my presence,  
he did not send, concerning the prosperity of my kingdom he did  
not ask.

Concerning his evil deeds in the midst of Nineveh I heard  
and my heart was angry and my liver (or heart) was enraged.  
My superior-officers, the prefects of the border of his land, I sent  
against him

15. and he, Nabu-zêr-napišti-uštêšir, a robber and rebel,  
of the march of my army heard, and, like a fox, he fled to Elam.  
As the oath of the great gods . . . . . Ašûr, Sin, Šamaš,  
Bêl and Nabû, a heavy punishment they placed on him, and  
in the midst of Elam they subjugated him with the sword.

20. Na'id-Marduk, his brother, the affairs of Elam,  
which I had done to his brother, saw and  
from Elam he fled and to become my servant  
to Assyria came and besought my lordship.  
The land of Tamtim, in its whole extent, the dominion of his  
brother, I entrusted to him.

25. Yearly, without fail, with his heavy present,  
to Nineveh he came and kissed my feet.  
Abdimilkutu, King of Sidon,  
who did not fear my lordship, who did not listen to the command  
of my lip,

who trusted to the vast sea and threw off my yoke,  
Sidon, his principal city, which is situated in the midst of the sea.

Col. III. [And Tê'ušpa of Gimir, an um m â n - m a n d a, whose residence was  
afar off] in the H<sub>u</sub>bušna territory, [together with the whole of his  
army],

I ran through [with the sword].

I trampled on the necks of the men of [Hilakki].

Du'ua, the inhabitants of [the mountain-ridges],

5. which lie in the vicinity of Tabala . . . . . ;  
who, to their mighty mountains [trusted, and]  
from days of old had not been subject [to any yoke];  
XXI of their powerful cities, together with [the small cities]  
of their territory, I besieged, captured, [carried away their spoil],

10. abbul aḫḫur ina išā[ti aḫmu]  
sitūtēšunu ša ḫiṭṭu [u ḫullultu]  
lā iṣū kabtu nīr bēlūti'a ēmidsunūti.

---

Adiṣ Barnakā . . . . .  
āšibūti Tilašūri ša ina pī [nisē]

15. Miḫrānu Pitānu inambū zikir[šun]

---

Usappiḫ nišē Mannā ḫutū lā sanḫu  
u ummānišu Iṣpakā Azguzā  
kidru lā mušēzibišu anār ina kakki.

---

Aṣlul Bīt-Dakkūri ša kirib Kaldi aiab Bābili

20. aḫmu Šamas-ibni šarrišu išḫappu ḫabbilu  
lā pāliḫu zikri bēl bēlé  
ša eḫlé aplé Bābili u Barsap  
ina pariḫti itbaluma utēru ramānuš  
aššu anāku puluḫtu Bēl u Nabū idū

25. eḫlé šātina utērma pān aplé Bābili  
u Barsap ušadgil  
Nabū-šallim apal Balasu  
[ina kus]eššu ušēšibma išāṭ abšāni.

Col. IV. 1. . . . . nišu šēpēšun  
. . . . . ukīn elišun

---

[Patušarra na]gū ša itē bīt MUN

[ša kirib Madā rūḫūti] ša pāṭi Bikni šadu uknē

5. [ša ina šarrāni abē'a] mamma lā ikbusu irṣitim mātišun  
[Šidirparna Epa]rna ḫazanāti dannūte  
[ša lā kitnušū ana nī]ri šāšunu adī nišēšunu  
[sīsē rukūbēšunu] alpē ḡēni uduri  
[šallatsun kabittu] aṣlula ana kirib Aššūr.

- 
10. [Bāzu] nagū ša ašaršu rūḫu  
[mi-šid(?) na]bāli ḫaḫḫar dābtu ašar šumāme  
[CXL] kasbu ḫaḫḫar bāši puḫuttu u aban pī-šabīti  
ašar ḡiri u aḫrabi kīma zirbābē malū ugaru  
XX kasbu Ḥazū šaddī sag-gil-mud
15. ana arki'a umašširma étik

10. I destroyed, tore down and with fire [I burned].  
 Upon the rest of them, who sin [and crimes]  
 had not committed, I placed the heavy yoke of my lordship.

---

I trampled upon Barnaki . . . . . , . . . . . ,  
 the inhabitants of Tilašûri who, in the language of [the people]

15. Miḫrânu Pitanu they call [their] name.

---

I scattered the men of Minni, the *ḫ u t û*, the unsubmissive  
 and his army. Iṣpâka of Azguza—  
 an alliance that did not save him—I subdued with the sword.

- ✓ I despoiled Bît-Dakkûri, which is in Kaldi, an enemy of Babylon,  
 20. I bound Šamaš-ibni, its king, a foolish (?), bad person,  
 who did not fear the renown of the lord of lords,  
 who had taken away the fields of the Babylonians and Borsippans  
 by force and had turned them to his own use.  
 Because I knew the fear of Bêl and Nabû,  
 25. these fields I returned, to the Babylonians  
 and Borsippans I entrusted.  
 Nabû-šallim, son of Balasu,  
 [on his] throne I placed and he was tribute to me.

Col IV. 1. . . . .

. . . . .  
 [Patušarra], a district on the borders of . . . . .  
 [which is in the midst of the far-off Medes], on the borders of  
 Bikni, a mountain of alabaster stone,

5. the territory of whose land no one [among the kings, my fathers,  
 had trodden];  
 [Šidirparna, Eparna], the powerful city-officers,  
 [who were not subject to any yoke], they themselves with their men,  
 [horses, chariots], oxen, sheep, dromedaries,  
 [their heavy spoil], I carried away into the midst of Assyria.
- 
10. [Bâzu], a district, whose situation is afar off,  
 [a mi-šid (?)] of land, a wearisome country, a barren place,  
 [CLX] kasbu of swampy ground, thorny undergrowth, and gazelle-  
 mouth stone,  
 where snakes and scorpions, like grasshoppers, fill the country ;  
 XX kasbu of Hazû, a mountain of sag-gil-mud stone,  
 15. I left behind me and I marched.



nagû šû'atu ša ultu ûme ullûti  
 lâ illiku šarru pâni maḥri'a  
 ina kibîṭ Ašûr bêli'a ina kirbišu šaltâniš attallak  
 Kîsu šar Hal(?)dili Akbaru šar Ilpi'ate

20. Mansaku šar Magalani Iapa' šarrat Diḥrâni

Ḥabisu šar Kadaba' Niḥaru šar Ga'pâni  
 Ba'ilu šarrat Iḥilu Ḥabaziru šar Buda'  
 VIII šarrâni ša kirib nagê sû'atu adûk  
 kîma\* . . . . aštâdi pagar ḡurâdêšun

25. ilânišunu namkûrišunu bušâšunu u nišêšunu ašlula ana kirib  
 Aššûr

Lâlê šar Iadi' ša lapân kakkê[ʼa ipparšidu]

(Cf. Cylinder A, IV, 41, sqq.)

Col. V. [Ina ûmêšuma êkal maḥirte ša kirib Ninâ]

ša [šarrâni âlik maḥri abê'a ušêpišû]  
 ana šu[têšur karâši paḡâdi murniskê]  
 parê narkabâti [bêlê unût taḡâzi]  
 u šallat nakirê ḡi[mir mimma šumšu]

5. ša Ašûr šar ilâni ana eški šarrûti'a išruḡa  
 ana šitmur sîsê šitamduḡ narkabâti  
 ašru šû'atu îmišannima nišê matâti ḡubut ḡašti'a  
 allu umšikku ušaššîšunûtima ilbinû libnâti  
 êkallu ḡiḡra šû'atu ana siḡirtiša aḡ[ḡurma]

10. ḡaḡḡaru ma'du kîma aḡaztimma ultu libbi eḡlê [abtuḡma]

elišu ušraddi ina pîli aban šadi . . . . .  
 tamlâ ušmalli adkêma šarrâni Ḥatti u êbir tâmti

\* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

25. u šarrâni ša Iatnana ḡabal tâmtim

naphar(?) XXII šarrâni Ḥatti âḡi tâmtim ḡabal tâmtim kališunu  
 uma'iršunûtima ḡušûrê rabûti

(Cf. Cylinder A, V, 15, sqq.)

Col. VI. . . . . (Cf. Cylinder A, VI, 30, sqq.)

šamnu rêštu šamnu ḡu-la amuḡḡašunu ušaški  
 ina kibîṭ Ašûr šar ilâni Aššûr kâlišunu

\* Cf. Textual Notes, in loco (April HEBRAICA, 1887).

That district, where, from days of old,  
no king before me had marched,  
by the command of Ašûr, my lord, into its midst I marched victo-  
riously.

Kîsu, king of Haldili; Akbaru, king of Ilpi'ate;

20. Mansaku, king of Magalani; Iapa', queen of Dihrâni;

Habisu, king of Kadaba'; Niḥaru, king of Ga'pâni;

Ba'ilu, queen of Iḫilu; Habaziru, king of Buda',

VIII kings of that district I killed.

Like . . . . I cast the corpses of their warriors.

25. Their gods, property, possessions, and men I carried away to  
Assyria.

Lâlê, king of Iadi', who before my weapons [had fled], etc.

Col. V. [At that time, the former palace, which is in Nineveh],  
which [the kings, my forefathers had caused to be built];  
for the [stowing away of the camp, for the sheltering of the horses]  
and bulls, chariots, [weapons, utensils of war],  
and the spoil of the enemies, [everything of every description],

5. which Ašûr, the king of the gods, for the strengthening of my king-  
dom had presented,

for the stalling of the horses, hitching up of the chariots,  
that place had become too small for me, and the men of the coun-  
tries, the booty of my bow,

allu umšikku I caused them to carry and they made bricks.

That small palace I tore down entirely, and

10. a large quantity of ground, in accordance with my means, from the  
midst of the fields I cut off, and

added to it. With freestone, a stone of the mountain . . . .

I filled out its terrace. I assembled the kings of Ḥatti and  
beyond the sea, \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

25. and the kings of Iatnana in the midst of the sea—

in all XXII kings of Ḥatti, of the sea-coast, of the midst of the sea,  
all of them;

to all of these I gave my commands, and large beams, etc., etc.

Col. VI. The best oil I offered (??) them, I caused them to drink.

By the command of Ašûr, king of the gods, and the gods of As-  
syria, all of them,

- ina tûb sérê ħud libbi nummur kabitti  
 5. šébê littûte kiribša dâriš  
 lurmêma lušbâ lalâša  
 ina za k - mu k k i arĥi rêštî kullat murnisĥê  
 parê bêlê gammadê unût taĥâzi  
 ġimir ummâni šallat nakirê  
 10. šattišamma lâ naparkâ lupĥida kiribša  
 kirib êkalli šâtu sêdu damĥu lamassu damĥu  
 nâšir kibsi šarrûti'a muĥadû kabitti'a  
 etc.,                      etc.,                      etc.

[Cf. HEBRAICA, Jan., 1888, and my "Cylinder A of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions, etc.," where B, VI. 13-22, is transliterated and translated.]

in health of body, joy of heart, cheerfulness of spirit,

5. abundance of offspring, in its midst continually  
may I dwell and may its fullness be sufficient.

On the beginning of the year, in the first month, all of the horses,  
bulls, camels, weapons, utensils of war,  
all the soldiers, the spoil of my enemies,

10. yearly, without fail, may I store away within it.

Within this palace, may gracious bull-divinities and gracious  
colossi,

protecting the footsteps of my majesty, causing my spirits to  
rejoice, etc., etc.

## NOTES ON THE PSALMS.

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- II. 12. The correct translation is that given by Jerome, "adore pure" *worship purely*. See my "On a Fresh Revision of the English Old Testament," p. 57.
- IV. 3. See the "Fresh Revision," p. 72.
- VI. 11. The Imperfects in this verse should be rendered "they shall be," etc.; not "let them be."
- VIII. 2. תִּנָּה. This is a difficult form. It is an Imperative, not an Infinitive, and is differently explained by critics. If the reading be genuine, the translation is "which glory of thine set thou above the heavens (also)." Verse 5. See "Fresh Revision," p. 78.
- XII. 7. עֲלֵי *crucible*, of earth? Ewald's translation is improbable. Hupfeld's "in the earth" gives a doubtful meaning to ל prefixed.
- XVI. 3. Perhaps the best way to take this difficult verse is to render "as to the saints who are in the land and the nobles, all my pleasure is in them." Ewald's exposition of this Psalm is not good; Hupfeld's is somewhat better. In the tenth verse the singular reading "thy pious one" is not original, and the plural, "thy pious ones," is right. Verse 5. תּוֹמִיךְ, cf. Gesenius and Ewald on the word. The latter not so good as the former. It is the Participle of Qal (Lehrgebäude, p. 308). Internal evidence fails to find a suitable occasion for this Psalm in the life of David. It does not agree well with his position when he was in the wilderness of Ziph (see 1 Sam. xxvi. 19). A much later time than David's must be assigned to it. Verse 4. מְהֵרָה. This verb means here as elsewhere *to buy*; "who buy another (god)." The rendering adopted by many, *exchange*, is not exactly suitable; for it requires a peculiar supplementing, exchange (Jehovah) (for) another; or the improbable, *take in exchange* another. Other observations on this Psalm may be found in my "Revision of the English Old Testament," pp. 67, 68.
- XVIII. Hupfeld unnecessarily and with weak reasons denies the Davidic authorship. The last two verses proceed from a later hand than the preceding part.
- XIX. This Psalm is made up of two separate pieces. Ewald is wrongly blamed by Jennings and Lowe for holding this opinion. The first part is badly translated in the authorized version. The latter part of verse 4 is incorrect in Kamphausen. Verse 5. קָן not *sound*, as Gesenius and Ewald suppose,

but *measure, expanse, region*, what a measuring-line stretches over. Here Hupfeld is right. The fourth verse does not agree well with 3 and 5, and it has therefore been interpreted in various ways.

XXII. 17. The best way to interpret the verse is, "they enclose me, my hands and feet, like the lion," i. e. they enclose my whole person, enclose me altogether so that I cannot escape. Hupfeld's note on the verse is excellent; and Gesenius has also a good one upon it (*Thesaurus*, p. 671). Ewald's is disappointing. The versions generally take the word *as the lion* for a verb, ὑπεσαν, ἡσχυαν, vinxerant, foderunt; but a verb is not easily got out of the Masoretic reading, which must be altered for the purpose. It is utterly improbable that it is a participle, instead of a noun, in the plural construct; and to render it as "piercing" is an unlucky guess. To say with Ewald that the present reading is owing to Christian-Jewish polemics, is mere conjecture. It is superfluous to state that the 22d Psalm is not Messianic. How could the Messiah speak as in the 7th verse? If some parts be applied to Christ in the New Testament that is no sound reason for thinking that the original writer meant it so. A pious sufferer in the time of the exile is the speaker; and his enemies are heathen persecutors. I do not believe that he personifies the Jewish people. Rather does he speak in his own name and of himself.

XXV. 11. The verb וְסִלְחָתָּ is difficult of explanation; and the grammars do not present a satisfactory solution of it. See Ewald's *Lehrbuch*, § 344 b. Nordheimer's *Grammar*, vol. II. § 985. 1. Gesenius's by Roediger, *English translation*, § 126 d. The entire subject of the Hebrew tenses is not yet cleared up; and I know that Hupfeld, despairing of getting a satisfactory solution of the problem, abandoned the publication of his *Hebrew grammar* after its commencement. Too many divisions and distinctions have been introduced. In the present case it is probable that the writer neglected to write a verb just before that which perplexed the reader. As the passage stands, the ׀ conversive prefixed to the Perfect, or as some prefer to call it Waw consecutive, gives it the sense of an Imperfect or Future which, expressing strong hope or assurance, is allied to the Imperative of supplication, "pardon mine iniquity." I am fully aware that this is an imperfect explanation; but it is better than those offered in the grammars.

XXIX. 2. In holy or festal adornment, angels being conceived as clothed in festal dress before God's throne. Hupfeld's explanation is incorrect here; but De Wette, following Gesenius, has rightly interpreted the phrase.

XXXII. 9. The last clause of this verse is extremely difficult. I translate it, "With bit and bridle their youth must be bound; they do not come near thee *otherwise*." As the noun זָרִי occurs in Psalm CIII. 5, meaning time of life, it probably means the same here; especially *youth*, implying vigor, strength. Many understand it in the sense of *ornament* or *trappings*. Hupfeld's inter-

pretation seems far-fetched; and Kamphausen gives no clear solution. One is tempted to suppose the text corrupt. Ewald gives a meaning to עָרִי which cannot be accepted, viz.: *cheek*; so that his interpretation turns aside from the true one.

XXXVI. 3. This is a most perplexing verse. I should render it, "For it (the oracle of transgression within his heart) has made it smooth to him in his eyes so as to find his iniquity [and] to hate;" in other words, the secret utterances of the wicked man's heart make the way of finding out his iniquity and cherishing hatred an easy thing to him. It gives him satisfaction both to seek out his misdeeds, and gratify his hatred. The long, elaborate and ingenious note of Hupfeld is not convincing. Nor can I adopt altogether the interpretation given by Ewald. Kamphausen wavers. The true sense turns in a great degree on the subject of חֲלִיק whether it be *God* or the *oracle*.

XXXVII. 38. It is almost unnecessary to remark that the latter clause of this verse is wrongly translated in the received version. The correct rendering spoils the text for funeral sermons. It is, "that there is a posterity to the man of peace;" posterity being a blessing under the Old Testament. Gesenius has properly recorded this signification, but the present passage is not given in his examples of it. None but Hengstenberg would deny that the Hebrew word has the sense in question.

XXXIX. 3. The first half of this verse can only mean "I was dumb in silence, I held my peace *without gladness*," etc., or, "far from joyfulness I was silent." The difficult word is rightly explained by Hupfeld and Kamphausen; wrongly by Ewald, who has "I was silent of the good" (I missed). Delitzsch renders most improbably "without prosperity," that is, without taking note of it; while Jennings and Lowe resort to the far-fetched sense: without [gaining] any good [therefrom]. DeWette's note and translation are unsatisfactory, "I was silent from everything," good as well as evil.

XLII. 5. This verse, upon which many interpretations and comments have been spent, may be best translated, "These things will I call to mind, and pour out my soul in me, that I passed in the multitude, walked in solemn procession to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, a festival-keeping throng." The psalmist expresses his remembrance of the past, rather than his longing and hope in relation to the future. Hupfeld accumulates a variety of opinions about the different words of the verse, amid which the reader may easily lose a clear apprehension of the critic's own interpretation. Inclining to an opposite extreme of Ewald's method, he balances too much.

XLV. There is little doubt about this Psalm being an epithalamium composed on the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of a Tyrian king. Being a secular poem, like the 72d, the Jews interpreted it allegorically; and this method of exegesis passed over to the early Christians, leading them to apply

it to Messiah. But the Messianic interpretation is foreign to the original sense, and can only be carried through the Psalm by thrusting forced meanings upon the words. I see no good reason for referring the Psalm to Jeroboam II., as Ewald does; a conjecture which was probably prompted by the more frequent intercourse of the northern kingdom with the Tyrians; much less for referring it with Hitzig to the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel. Nor is Delitzsch's conjecture probable that the poem was meant to celebrate Joram's marriage with Athaliah. The Psalm has its difficulties. In the 7th verse occurs "thy God's throne," i. e. thy divine throne, etc.; and the version "thy throne, O God," is incorrect; for the plural *אֱלֹהִים* cannot be applied to one king. It may perhaps be used of kings, as in the 82d Psalm; but even there Hupfeld denies it that sense. In verse 9, *קִנְיָ* must either be a plural meaning *strings, music of stringed instruments*, or, *of Armenia, Armenian*. The former interpretation is usually adopted; but the use of the word for *מְכִים* is without analogy. Gesenius makes as good an attempt as there can be to explain the form of the word (*Lehrgebäude*, pp. 525-6); and Ewald is still less satisfactory. It is better on the whole to take it as it occurs in Jer. LI. 27, where a province of Armenia is meant. Notwithstanding the authority of Jerome and of Hupfeld, as well as Hitzig, "the daughter of Tyre" in the 13th verse must mean, *the Tyrians, the inhabitants of the city*, especially the males. The translation "O daughter of Tyre" comes awkwardly with *and* before it, after the preceding words. See "Fresh Revision," p. 77.

XLVIII. 3. This verse is difficult. I translate it, "beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion; in the remotest north is the city of the great King." The explanation of "the remotest north" given by Ewald and Hitzig must be rejected. Gesenius and DeWette come very near the true sense; but Hupfeld's interpretation is the best, which supposes the contrast to be with Sinai in the south. The sense "sides" is wrong in this place; and to take the clause "remotest north" in close connection with Mount Zion is erroneous, because Zion was in the south of the city. The word *יִרְכָּתִי* does not mean "angle," as some render it. The meaning would be greatly simplified if we could suppose with Olshausen that the two words, "extremities of the north," were a marginal gloss that was taken into the text; and Kamphausen is inclined to adopt the suggestion.

LI. This Psalm is not David's, but is of the exile date as shown by the 20th verse. The conception of sin as committed against God alone, the offering of a broken spirit being more acceptable to him than material sacrifices, and the character of the diction are all alien to the time of David. But the suitability of the 16th verse to the title has led many to suppose that it is David's penitential utterances. Yet it is difficult to reconcile the 6th verse with Davidic authorship. How could adultery and murder be sins against



God alone? The last two verses create a great difficulty, as they appear inconsistent with what is said immediately before about the particular sacrifices with which God is well pleased. Hence many have thought them a late addition, not a part of the original composition. This, however, is a bold assumption. Taking them as properly belonging to the Psalm, we suppose the meaning to be, that the restored people would offer sacrifices in the divinely appointed place with hearts purified by adversity; sacrifices presented thus being the only acceptable ones. The 14th verse (second clause) should be rendered "and with a willing spirit support me." The spirit is the Psalmist's, but given by God. The word לְמַעַן in the 5th verse means as usual "in order that," and is always *telic*, implying purpose; though cause and effect were not logically separated by the Jews. It may appear strange to us to interpret an author so as to make him say "I have done evil in order that thou mightest be justified in thy sentence;" but the Jews referred all things to the immediate influence and action of God, not hesitating to say *he* hardened Pharaoh's heart that he should refuse to let the Israelites go free; that *he* creates evil (Isa. XLV. 7); and that *he* inclined the Egyptians' minds to give jewels and ornaments to the Israelites, who borrowed without the idea of repaying, "*he* hath blinded their eyes," etc. (John XII. 40). The idea in the 7th verse approaches nearer to that of original sin than in any other passage in the Old Testament; but it does not state that which theologians mean by the phrase. We should remember that the language is that of poetry, not prose; and that poetry exaggerates. All that is meant is that the writer speaks of himself as inheriting a nature with the seeds of sin in it—a nature corrupt and inclined to sin from the earliest years. The language does not imply that man *sins in Adam*; or that the sin of Adam is *imputed* to him. Neither does it imply that he is *wholly* corrupt, without freedom of will to think and do good; and it is entirely incorrect to say that "in iniquity" and "in sin" are predicated of his parent, not of himself.

LIII. The greater part of this Psalm is a repetition of the xivth; and critics have puzzled over the question how the sameness is to be accounted for. Neither seems to be exactly in its original state; but the LIId is nearer it than the xivth. David himself was not the author of them, for they belong to the time of the captivity. The alterations in the one or the other are not systematically or deliberately made. A few may have arisen from subsequent reflection; but most took place in the course of transcription or traditional transmission. Intentional adaptation of the first Psalm in the second to some particular occasion is unlikely. The change of Jehovah into Elohim proceeds from the collector of the second book, of which the Psalm is a part.

LV. This Psalm is obviously later than David, so that Ahithophel is not the treacherous friend described. Verses 7-9 show that the poet lived among

enemies in the same city, that is, Jerusalem. The assertion made by Lowe and Jennings that the Psalm "teems with Davidic idioms" is wholly incorrect. Hitzig's opinion that Jeremiah was the author is favored by various expressions; but the tone is hardly that of the prophet. The writer lived at the time when the city was besieged by the Babylonians, and society was in a state of confusion. He was in a very excited state of mind, prays against his enemies, and especially against a friend who had proved faithless. The sequence of the verses is so loose and disconnected, that Hupfeld believes in displacement of certain portions, 13-15, 20b, 21, 22, 24. But this is an unnecessary assumption. The writer's feelings and perilous situation account for his broken statements. The latter part of the 20th verse, which is introduced abruptly, is very difficult. "They who have no changes, and they fear not God." The word **חֲלִפוֹת** cannot apply to a moral change, though Gesenius gives that meaning to it, so that the sense is not "they do not change for the better;" neither is it "they do not change from prosperity to adversity." Looking to the use of the word in Job xiv. 14, I would venture to propose the interpretation "they do not change their post," as soldiers do who keep watch in turn and are relieved. They adhere to their post, that is, they remain continually and obstinately in the same sinful position. They are always at their sinful post. The attempts of Ewald and Hupfeld to find a different sense for the word are unsuccessful.

- LVI. The received version of the 5th verse is unintelligible. It should be, "by God's help I will praise *his word*," i. e. this promise fulfilled to me. In the 11th verse, where the clause is repeated, the suffix to **דָּבָר** cannot be dispensed with. There can be little doubt that **פִּלַּט** in verse 8 should be **פִּלֶם**, as Ewald conjectures. He is followed by Olshausen and Hupfeld.
- LVII. Probably from the same author as that of LVI., and so not David. The 4th verse should be rendered, "he that pants for me (my persecutor) has reproached." The clause is abruptly and awkwardly introduced. The verb **אִשְׁכָּחָה** in the 5th verse creates great difficulty. If it be a genuine reading, it should be rendered, "I must lie with the fiery ones, the sons of men," etc.; though one would expect the prefix **ל** before **לִהְיוֹתִים**; cf. Isa. l. 11. The various conjectures respecting the passage may be seen in Hupfeld, who takes refuge in a corruption of the text, which he does too often.
- LVIII. Verse 2 should probably be rendered, "Is the righteousness which you should speak really dumb? do you judge uprightly the sons of men?" Many point **אֱלִים** differently, and propose **אֱלִים** for **אֱלִים**, i. e., "ye gods." Verse 10. Translate, "whether fresh or burning, He (God) will sweep them away." The words are variously interpreted. Verse 9. **חֲמִם** is a noun, not an apocopated future Hiph. of **חָמָה**, as Gesenius, followed by Hengstenberg, supposes.

- LX. Verse 6. Translate "thou gavest to them who fear thee a banner to flee to from before the bow." Verse 6 is ironical. "Shout in triumph over me, O Philistia." But this does not suit the context, and the reading should probably be, as in Psalm cviii. 10, "Over Philistia I will shout in triumph." In verse 5, thou hast given us to drink wine of reeling, the וְיָ should be pointed as construct. Here it is absolute by mistake. The Psalm is often referred, along with the LXIV., to Maccabean times. But this does not clearly follow from internal evidence. It belongs to a time when the nation was in a downcast and disastrous state, perhaps in exile.
- LXIV. 7th verse. תִּמְלֵךְ. This verb in the first person plural gives no good sense. It should be תִּמְלֵךְ, they "have completed." The 8th verse reads properly, "and God shoots them; an arrow (flies) suddenly; their wounds are (there)." The accent is against the union of וְיָ with the preceding context. Verse 9. It is better with Hupfeld to alter a single point in the verb and so translate, "and He will cause it to fall upon (or destroy) them, *their tongue*." The rendering of DeWette is not bad, "their tongues will cause them to fall upon one another." Ewald, whom Hengstenberg follows, is less happy in his exegesis of the words.
- LXV. 6th verse. Render "of all the ends of the earth and of the sea, distant (as they are)." This is contrary to the accents, but required by the sense. The translation, "of the distant parts of the sea," is inconsistent.
- LXVI. Ewald appears to be right in dividing this Psalm into two parts. The first is national, descriptive of national calamities, and perhaps referring to the invasion of the land by Sennacherib. The second, verses 13-20, is personal, expressing the feelings of a pious Israelite; and its date is earlier than the first.
- LXVIII. This Psalm is the most difficult of interpretation among all that form the collection, and has given rise to a greater number of separate dissertations or treatises than any other. To do it full justice would require from me both a new translation and a comment on each verse—a thing inconsistent with the plan of these brief and occasional remarks on the book of Psalms. I can only offer a few remarks. It is of late origin, referring to the return of the Jews from Babylon and the re-establishment of the Kingdom of God on Mount Zion. Hence its analogy with the Deutero-Isaiah. The hope of the people is expressed in a lyric hymn which takes a highly poetical flight, full of bold imagery, and animated with a fiery inspiration. Verse 11. Translate "thy beasts settled down in it; thou preparedst them in thy goodness for the afflicted, O God," with a reference to the quails. The triumphal song of the women announcing victory begins with the 13th verse and ends with the 15th. Verses 14, 15. Translate,

“ Will ye lie at ease between the pales?  
 Wings of a dove covered with silver  
 And her feathers with the shimmering yellow of gold,  
 When the Almighty scattered kings therein,  
 It became clear as snow in the darkness.”

The sense of these words can only be guessed. The first line is addressed to the victorious Israelites by way of rebuke. They take their ease instead of pursuing the enemy. The bold figure in the second and third lines may allude to the still, unwarlike, pastoral life of the two and a half tribes on the east of Jordan who, instead of following up their conquest, rest in contented inactivity, admiring the bright colors of the doves in the fields where the cattle are being herded. The reproof is still continued that the tribes are satisfied with pastoral life when they should be continuing their warlike conduct; and the severe admonition is enforced by the fact that they were thus idly reclining amid the pastures of their flocks, though the Almighty scattered kings for their sake. It is impossible to say what כִּי in the 15th verse refers to. 81. “Rebuke the beast of the reeds, the multitude of bulls with the calves of the peoples; subdue those who are greedy for money,” etc. “The beast of the reeds” means Egypt. Bulls are the strong; calves the weak. The last part requires a slight change of the original text to bring out the sense I have given.

LXIX. This Psalm dates in the exile and proceeds from a prophet, as appears from verses 30-37; but whether Jeremiah can be fixed upon as the writer, which is Hitzig's opinion, cannot be settled by any probable evidence. The various passages in it which are applied to Christ in the New Testament do not show that the writer had such in his mind; especially as the bitter spirit and curses of enemies (verses 23, etc.) are directly opposed to the genius of the New Testament. The 11th verse. “And I wept; my soul was in fasting” (i. e. I fasted) hardly requires the emendation of Olshausen and Hupfeld, which turns וְאֶכְכָּה into וְאֶעֱנֶה, “I humbled my soul by fasting.”

LXX. This poem is a repetition of the second part of Psalm XL. The variations of the two texts show on the whole the superiority of the present one.

LXXII. The title ascribes the authorship to Solomon; but he is neither the writer nor the subject of it. The language and contents are much later. It expresses the hopes, wishes, and aspirations of a pious Israelite for the everlasting continuance of the Davidic kingdom, which was regarded as identical with the Kingdom of God; and describes in the ideal language of poetry a king reigning over the whole earth. Such hopes point to a Messianic time. The collector of the second book of the Psalms, thinking that the Davidic ones were ended, added the doxological epilogue contained in the last three verses. Lowe and Jennings render the prefix כִּי in וְכִי־אֵשׁ unto, incorrectly (verse 16). It is extremely doubtful whether the preposition has ever that

meaning; though Gesenius and Fürst give it. The passages quoted in its favor are not relevant, such as Genesis xi. 4, Psalm xix. 5. The signification of "motion to" should be dropped.

**LXXIII.** The 4th verse should be rendered, "their iniquity has gone forth from an unfeeling heart; the imaginations of the heart have overflowed." This requires a change of punctuation in one word. See Fürst's Lexicon. The second clause of the 24th verse is wrongly translated in the received version, though Hupfeld agrees with it. Such belief in a future state of happiness is foreign to the Old Testament. It should be translated, "and after honor thou wilt take me," i. e. thou wilt take me to honor. **אֶתֶּר** is a preposition governing **כְּבוֹד**, not an adverb. See "Fresh Revision," pp. 72, 73.

**LXXIV.** If the text of the 19th verse be right, we must render, "give not over to the greedy troop thy turtle dove" (dear people). By transposing two words Hupfeld gets, "give not over to rage the life of thy dove."

**LXXVI. 5.** This verse is difficult. Though Ewald, DeWette and others render it, "thou art full of splendor, more excellent than the mountains of prey," I cannot think that the poet would have compared Jehovah to the mountains of prey. It is better to translate "from mountains of prey;" but Hupfeld, who identifies these mountains with Zion, can hardly be correct. A *sacred* place could not be so designated except by a strange figure. I take "mountains of prey" to be a general expression referring to no specific place. Jehovah is represented as a lion descending from mountains to spoil and subdue. The Psalm refers to Sennacherib's overthrow. Verse 11. "Thou girdest thyself with the remnant of fury," i. e. God's fury. *When* should not be supplied before "thou girdest," as DeWette supposes.

**LXXVII.** 11th verse. This very obscure verse I translate thus: "Then I said, this is my suffering; but the right hand of the Most High changes." The Psalmist's consolation derived from the mighty works which God wrought for his people in past times, follows in the next verse. Among the many interpretations offered, that of Delitzsch is the most far-fetched and improbable. The theophany in verses 17-20 appears to be the insertion of a later hand than the author's. It is borrowed in part from Hab. iii. 10, etc. Delitzsch, however, thinks that it is the original which Habakkuk had before him.

[To be continued.]

## A TRACT ON THE SYRIAC CONJUNCTIONS.

BY RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

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The native Syriac grammarians usually speak of seven parts of speech. Thus Yûhanân bar Zu'bî says distinctly (MS. Or. Berlin Sachau, 306, fol. 67a):

[illegible]

Severus bar Šakku, his pupil, makes the same division in the beginning of his *διαλογοί*. The same may be said of Elia of Ṭirhân,<sup>2</sup> and of Bar 'Ebhrâyâ.<sup>3</sup> But there was another division current among the Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew grammarians.<sup>4</sup> This was the threefold division into noun, verb, and conjunction. This division is Aristotelian,<sup>5</sup> and probably owes its existence to the philosophical studies of Syriac and Arabic scholars. The *συνδεσμοί* comprised "all elements of speech which possess no logical worth."<sup>6</sup> Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, too, though he mentions the other division, makes use of this more common one both in his larger and smaller grammars.

The following little tract on the conjunctions is not uninteresting, and may be useful in tracing back the statements of the native grammarians to their source. The Grecian grammarians had already separated the conjunctions into different classes; the later ones, such as Apollonios, giving to each conjunction its own peculiar power. Bar 'Ebh râyâ has a very instructive chapter on this point in his

K'thâbhâ dh'ṣemḥê (p. 156ff). The following tract has the same end in view. Though I suspect very much that it is fashioned after some Greek model, I have been unable to find that model. The author is unknown; but as it occurs in a MS. of the British Museum, according to Wright's excellent judgment, of the 9th or 10th century, and together with Massoretic works and tracts of Ya'qûbh 'Urhâyâ, I have little hesitation in referring its composition to the Syrian Massoretic schools which flourished from the 8th to the 13th centuries. Some of the statements here made have found their way to the later grammarians and to the lexicographers such as Bar 'Alî, Bar Bahlûl, Barzadh, etc. (see Notes).

My text is taken from MS. Or. Berlin Sachau No. 70, entitled (*Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung*, Berlin, 1885, p. 7) "Jacobit. Sammelband," which contains some Apocryphal writings; notices about the Prophets; "On Asnath the wife of Joseph,"\* and some grammatical extracts. On fol. 83 is part of the tract of Ya'qûbh 'Urhâyâ on accents.\* The MS. was written in the year 1827, and is a careful copy of a much older original. The characters are Jacobite, both the Eastern and Western systems of vocalization being used. Rukkâkhâ and ḵuṣṣâyâ are regularly marked in red. The tract is preceded by a list of the Greek accents said to be by Epiphanius<sup>8</sup>. I have been unable to find anything in the Greek works of that author to substantiate this claim, and can only surmise that the mistake arose from its close proximity in the original MS. to the treatise "de ponderibus et mensuris."

Our tract exists also in the Vatican, the National Library at Paris, and the British Museum<sup>9</sup>. The Vatican copy (Sir. CLXX. fol. 192 a., the MS. being dated 980 A. D.) which Prof. Ignazio Guidi has with his usual kindness transcribed for me, is exactly similar to the Sachau MS. My friend, Dr. Hugo Winckler, has collated my copy once more with the original.

حقنہ | دعتہ | ابعثتہ | حمتہ | حصہ | افضہ | ضا | فاقسعتہ |  
 مدمنہ | جاذبہ | فمک | اقل | افسدہ | افسدہ | افسدہ |  
 اس | بقلا | بمقتہ | انا | سلا | سلا | انا | جکس | صلس | انا |  
 صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ |  
 صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ |  
 صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ | صمدہ |

\* Phillips, "A Letter of Mâr Jacob," p. 19. The lacuna in the British Museum MS. is filled out as in the Paris copy. See Martin's edition, p. 9, l. 5.

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or impliedly,<sup>10</sup> and others are nouns which in themselves designate actions.<sup>10a</sup> Gêr, dê(i)n, kîth, lam. Some unite the discourse,<sup>11</sup> some the thought. Some introduce the person, and some are disjunctive.<sup>12</sup> And there are some which stand alone.

Gê(i)r brings that which is below (protasis) to that which is above (apodosis).<sup>13</sup> Gê(i)r, further, is a conjunction of a phrase; and, at times, causes that which is above (apodosis) to follow, and joins it to that which is below (protasis).<sup>14</sup> De(i)n, also, has the same power as gê(i)r, and joins that which is above to that which is below, and that which is below to that which is above.<sup>15</sup> B'ram introduces the person, and keeps it far from doubt in very truth.<sup>16</sup> Kîth connects that which has previously been said with the discourse, and binds the discourse, so that what has been mentioned be not strange to that which has preceded.<sup>17</sup> Lam, as is evident to every one, distinguishes the person, and shows that that which has been said does not belong to it.<sup>18</sup> Hâkhîl and Badhghûn are not conjunctions, but are compounded of conjunctions.<sup>19</sup> Badhghûn joins the verb with a noun expressing cause, when it connects the discourse. That one and hâkhîl refer to some narrative.<sup>20</sup> Ellâ and b'ram are confirmative.<sup>21</sup> Kadh is preparatory;<sup>22</sup> Madhê(i)n is causative.<sup>23</sup> Kê'math is affirmative.<sup>24</sup> Âphen [shows] equality of action.<sup>25</sup> Aikanâ teaches something. Aukîth is explanatory. Hâdhê and hânâ affirm that which has been prefaced beforehand. Hâkhanâ [shows] equality and completion. În is a word which shows joy.<sup>26</sup> Lâ is a word showing contradiction.<sup>27</sup> Tûbh [shows] an addition to that which has preceded. 'Emath(i) indicates time. Aikâ indicates place. K'mâ expresses number, and length, and width, and weight, and measure. âpa forms an optative sentence and Kai is like it.<sup>28</sup> Kaddû, up to this; μᾶλλον especially; ara kai; and badhghûn thence, or therefore. εἰτα afterwards. B'ram is placed sometimes instead of hâšâ, sometimes instead of ellâ; ἤκαῃ perhaps.

#### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Mufasssal*, ed. Broch, p. 13. الحرف ما دل على معنى في غيره which corresponds to the definition in the Poetics of Aristotle (1457a) σύνδεσμος δὲ ἐστὶ φωνῇ ὁσημος. Cf. also *Ignazio Guidi* "Bolletino Italiano degli studii orientali," Nuova Serie.—Num. 6, p. 108. There was, however, another definition current among the Syrian grammarians. On fol. 60a. Bar Zu'bi says:

noun" had a very wide signification, any form of the verb with either the prefix Dâlath or Lâmadh being classed under that head. Bar Zu'bi (fol. 53a), has a statement to this effect which is too long to cite here. Cf. *Ella of Tîrhan*, p. 39, 10. Bar 'Ebhryâ, i., p. 81, 16 (= Karmseiddin Ap. *Payne Smith*, Col. 2113). Cf. also the τοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκειν and ἀναγνώστειν of Priscian (*Steinthal*, p. 645). An expression similar to the one in our text occurs in Bar 'Ebhryâ i., p. 81, 22, though we would expect here the words dh'mellê w'dhash'mâhê (Bar 'Ebh. i., p. 156, 6; ii., ed., Bertheau, p. 65; *Ella of Tîrhan*, p. 39, 17).







## NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S ARTIFICIAL RESERVOIR.

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In a previous number of *HEBRAICA*<sup>1</sup> I called attention to an old structure, the tunnel of Negub, by means of a partial restoration of an inscription, which had been previously given up as hopelessly mutilated. This time I should like to call attention to a similar undertaking, one of which we now have many proofs. The first decipherer (Oppert) of the great Nebuchadnezzar inscription in the East India House, London, has already pointed out that one passage agrees exactly with a notice of Berossus. I R. 58, VIII. 52—IX. 1 we read :

i-na bi-i-ri-šu-nu bi-ti-iḫ a-gur-ri i-ib-ti-iḫ ma i-na ri-i-ši-šu ku-um-mu ra-ba-a a-na šu-ba-at šar-ru-ti-ia i-na ku-up-ri u a-gur-ri ša-ki-iš i-bu-uš ma it-ti iḫal abi u-rad-di ma in arḫi ša-al-mu i-na ūmu šīmu i-ra-sa i-na i-ra-at ki-gal-lu u-ša-ar-ši-id ma ri-i-ši-ša u-za-aḫ-ki-ir ḫu-ur-sa-ni-iš i-na XV. ū-mu šī-bi-ir-ša u-ša-ak-li-il ma

In between (i. e., the walls) I erected a mole of brick. On its top I built a large building for my royal residence and joined it to the palace of my father<sup>2</sup> In a lucky month, on an auspicious day, "I joined its breast to the breast of the nether world,"<sup>3</sup> and elevated its top like a mountain forest. In 15 days I finished its building.

The corresponding passage in Berossus (Abydenus ap. Eusebius Chron. ed. Schoene, p. 38) reads as follows : "When Nebuchadnezzar had received the royal power, he surrounded Babylon with a triple wall in 15 days. He drew off the Nahr-malka, an arm of the Euphrates. Above the city Sippara he built a reservoir, 40 parasangs in circumference, and 20 fathoms deep, and built gates which could be opened so as to irrigate the plain. It was called *ὁχετογνώμονας*."

We pass over the rapidity with which the building is said to have been constructed. It is sufficient to call attention to the wonderful way in which the words of Nebuchadnezzar agree with those of Berossus.

The cuneiform inscriptions give us also information about the triple walls. The two principal walls, Imgur-Bil and Nimitti-Bil, are frequently mentioned ; and I myself have published a text in the *Ztschrft. f. d. Assyriologie*, I., p. 337, sqq. (cf. also *ibid.* II., p. 124, sqq.) relating to the building of the third outer wall. It has not been possible, up to the present time, to identify the works on the Nahr-

<sup>1</sup> October, 1887, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> I laid the foundation.

<sup>3</sup> Or i-kal-at (?) : to the (before mentioned) temples ?

malka and the building of the reservoir. But it is evident that these works are likewise mentioned in the inscription of Nabopolassar published by me in the *Ztschrft. f. d. Assyriologie*, II., p. 69, sqq. In my notes to this inscription (*ibid.* p. 75) I have already made the conjecture that, by the *mí nuḥṣi niklûti* there mentioned, the reservoirs mentioned by Rassam, *Babylonian Cities*, Victoria Institute, p. 5,<sup>1</sup> London, are meant. This conjecture is verified by the passage in Berossus mentioned above. The works were used for collecting the water for the irrigation of the land, for which the Babylonian expression *mí nuḥṣi* "water of fruitfulness" very well fits. The fact that in one place the buildings are ascribed to Nabopolassar, in the other to his son Nebuchadnezzar presents no difficulties. Either a mistake has been made by one of the many editors of Berossus (Abydenus), or this work, like so many others, was begun by Nabopolassar, and only finished by his son. Whether we have, as I conjectured (*loc. cit.* p. 70) any information in this same inscription about buildings erected on the Nahr-Malka, and mentioned also by Berossus, cannot yet with certainty be decided. In both cases the expression is not quite clear.

As I think I can further the understanding of that inscription a little, I allow the passage I have mentioned to follow (Nabop. I. 4—II. 8).

14. nâru Purattu is-si-šu-ma	The Euphrates had left it (Sippara).
15. a-na ku-ud (?)—dul <sup>2</sup> bi-lu-ti-šu-nu	to... . . . its greatness
16. mi-í i-ri-í-ku a-na <sup>3</sup> sa-a-bu	the waters had departed to (from?)..
II. 1. Na-bi-um-abil-u-ṣu-ur	Nabopolassar,
2. a-aš-ru ša-aḥ-ṭim	the humble, the submissive,
3. pa-li-iḥ ilī ia-a-ti	worshiper of the gods
4. nâr Sippara	caused the canal of Sippara
5. lu-u-ša-aḥ-ra-am-ma	to be dug.
6. mi-í nu-uḥ-ṣi nik-lu-tim	An artificial reservoir
7. a-na Šamšu bíli-ia	for Šamaš my master,
8. lu-u-ki-in	I constructed.

It is worthy of note how exactly the name given to the reservoir, *mí nuḥṣi*, "waters of abundance, of fruitfulness," agrees with the statement made by Berossus-Abydenus that its purpose was "to irrigate the plain."

<sup>1</sup>"Remains of prodigious basins are seen, in which a surplus supply must have been kept for any emergency when the water in the Euphrates falls low."

<sup>2</sup>Not *ku*!

<sup>3</sup>cf. Z.A. II. 145.

# OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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## VI.

### JEREMIAH.

V. 9. "And it shall come to pass, when ye shall say, Wherefore doeth the Lord our God all these things?" etc.

Rabbi Jose, the son of Halaphta, said: Whoever knows how many years the Israelites served idols, will know when the Son of David comes. And these three passages are in support of this dictum, viz.: "And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them" (Hos. II. 18); "That as he cried, and they would not hear; so they cried, and I would not hear" (Zech. VII. 13); and "It shall come to pass, when," etc.—*Introduction to Midrash on Lamentations.*

XVI. 13. See under Gen. XLIX. 10.

XXIII. 5. "I will raise unto David a righteous branch."

Targum: I will raise unto David the Messiah the righteous.

— 6. "And this is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness."

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachman, said, in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: Three are called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be he! viz.: the righteous, Messiah, and Jerusalem. Of the righteous it is said, "Everyone that is called by my name" (Isa. XLIII. 7). Of Messiah it is said, "This is his name," etc.; and of Jerusalem it is written, "And the name of the city from that day shall be, the Lord is there" (Ezek. XLVIII. 35). Read not "there" (šāmāh), but "her name" (š'māh).—*Talmud Baba Bathra*, fol. 75, col. 2; *Yalkut* in loco.

What is the name of the King Messiah? Rabbi Abba, son of Kahana, said: Jehovah; for it is written, "This is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness." Rabbi Levi said: Blessed is the city whose name is like the name of its king, and the name of its king like the name of its God. Blessed is the city whose name is like the name of its king; because it is written, "And the name of the city from that day shall be, Jehovah is there" (Ezek. XLVIII. 35); and the name of its king like the name of its God; for it is written, "And this is his name whereby," etc. Rabbi Joshua, son of

Levi, said: "Branch" (çémăḥ) is the Messiah's name; for it is written, "Behold, the man whose name is Branch, and he shall grow out of his place." Rabbi Judan said, in the name of Rabbi Ibo: "Comforter" (m'nāḥēm) is his name; for it is written, "The Comforter is far from me" (Lam. i. 16). Rabbi Hanina replied: There is no contradiction in the assertions of both; for çémăḥ and m'nāḥēm are equal in number.—*Midrash on Lamentations* i. 16.

- 7, 8. "The days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, The Lord liveth which brought up and which led," etc.

Ben-Zoma asked the wise men: Will mention be made of the Egyptian exodus in the days of the Messiah? Is it not said, "The days come, saith the Lord," etc.? They replied: The Egyptian exodus will not lose its place altogether, but will only become secondary, in view of the liberation from the subjection to the other Gentile kingdoms.—*Talmud Berachoth*, fol. 12, col. 2.

- XXX. 9. "But they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them."

Targum: And they shall worship before the Lord their God, and they shall hearken to Messiah the Son of David, their king, whom I will raise up to them.

Rav said: In the future God will raise up for them another David; as it is said, "They shall serve the Lord their God," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.

- 21. "And their governor shall proceed from the midst of them."

Targum: And their kings shall be magnified from them, and their Messiah shall appear out of their midst.

- XXXI. 20. See under Ps. xxii. 7.

- XXXIII. 13. "The flocks shall pass again under the hands of him that telleth them."

Targum: The people shall be again numbered by the hand of the Messiah.

- 15. "I will cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David."

Targum: I will raise up unto David the Messiah of righteousness.

#### LAMENTATIONS.

- I. 16. "For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me," etc.

See under Gen. xlix. 10. The Midrash in loco gives a curious story about the birth of the Messiah, which is the same as quoted from the Jerusalem Talmud under Ps. xviii. 50.

- II. 22. "Thou hast called as in a solemn day my terrors round about."

Targum: Thou shalt proclaim freedom to thy people of the house of Israel, by the hand of the Messiah.



IV. 22. "The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion."

Targum: And afterwards the iniquity shall be finished, O congregation of Zion, and thou shalt be delivered by the hands of the Messiah and Elijah the high priest.

#### EZEKIEL.

XVI. 55. "When thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, shall return to their former estate."

There are ten things which will be renewed in the future. The fourth is, All devastated cities will be rebuilt, and there shall be no more any desolated place; even Sodom and Gomorrah will once be rebuilt, as it is said, "When thy sisters, Sodom," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus* XII. 12, sect. 15.

XXV. 14. "And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel."

In this life, it is true, the Israelites are compared to the dust of the earth; but in the Messianic age they will be like the sand of the sea; for as the sand makes the teeth dull, so also will the heathen be destroyed in the time of the Messiah, as it is said, "There shall come a star out of Israel" (*Num.* XXIV. 17), and "I will lay my vengeance," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers* II. 32, sect. 2.

XXXI. 21. "In that day will I cause the horn of the house of Israel to bud forth."

Rav Hanina said: The Son of David will not come till fish will not be found even when required for a sick man; for it is said, "Then will I cause their waters to sink, and their rivers to run like oil" (*Ezek.* XXXII. 14), and it is also written, "In that day will I cause the horn of the house," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

XLVII. 9. "And it shall come to pass, that everything that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live."

Of the ten new things which will be in the future the second is, the Holy One will bring forth living water from Jerusalem, and will cure with it all diseases, as it is said, "And it shall come to pass," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus* XII. 12, sect. 15.

— 12. "And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed; it shall bring forth new fruit according to his month, because their waters they issued out of the sanctuary."

The third of the ten new things which will be in future is that the Holy One makes the trees bring forth fruits every month, as it is said, "And by the river upon," etc.—*Midrash*, l. c.

XLVIII. 19. "And they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the tribes of Israel."

Mar says: The Land of Israel is in the future to be divided among thirteen tribes. To whom (belongs the thirteenth part)? To the Prince (i. e., the

King Messiah, as Rashi explains); for it is written, "And they that serve," etc.—*Talmud Baba Bathra*, fol. 122, col. 1.

DANIEL.

II. 22. "And the light dwelleth with him."

Abba Serungia refers these words to the Messiah; for it is said, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee" (Isa. LX. 1).—*Midrash on Genesis* I. 1, sect. 1.

Rabbi Bibi Sanguria said: Light is his (Messiah's) name; for it is said, "The light dwelleth with him."—*Midrash on Lamentations* I. 16.

VII. 9. "I beheld till the thrones were placed (not 'cast down,' as in A. V.), and the Ancient of days did sit."

What will this say? One (throne) for himself and one for David. For we have the teaching: One for himself and for David,—these are the words of Rabbi Akiva. Said to him Rabbi Jose: Akiva! how long wilt thou render the Shechinah profane!—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 38, col. 2; *Hagigah*, fol. 14, col. 1.

— 13. "Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven."

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi asked: In one place it is written, "Behold, one like the Son of Man," etc., and in another, "Lowly and riding upon an ass!" (Zech. ix. 9). (He answered), If they be worthy, He (the Messiah) will come with the clouds of heaven; if not, He will come lowly and riding upon an ass.<sup>1</sup>—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

— 27. "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven," etc.

Because the Israelites observed the law among them (the Edomites), the Holy One will make them inherit in the future the throne of glory; as it is said, "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers* VI. 22, sect. 11.

IX. 24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city," etc.

<sup>1</sup> Very interesting is the following interpretation given by Saadia (flourished in the ninth century) on the passage: "This (one like the Son of Man) is Messiah our righteousness; for is it not written with reference to Messiah, 'lowly, and riding upon an ass'? (Zech. ix. 9); surely he comes in humility, for he does not come upon a horse in glory. But since it is written, 'with the clouds of heaven,' it signifies the angels of the heavenly hosts, which is the great glory which the Creator will give to the Messiah, as it is written, 'with the clouds of heaven;' then he shall be great in government. When it is said (v. 9), 'the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool,' he speaks after the manner of men. They brought him to the Ancient of days; for it is written (Ps. cx. 1), 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand,' etc. 'And there was given him dominion,' i. e., He gave to him a government and a kingdom, as it is written (Ps. ii. 6), 'Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion;' and as it is written (1 Sam. ii. 10), 'He shall exalt the horn of his anointed; his kingdom shall not depart, and shall not be destroyed for ever and ever.'"

True, it was known that the temple will be destroyed; but the time could not be fixed. Abai said, This cannot be determined; but against this is the passage, "Seventy weeks," etc.—*Talmud Nazir*, fol. 32, col. 2.

Rabbi Jose said: Seventy weeks intervened between the destruction of the first temple and the second.—*Yalkut on Amos* VII. 17.

XII. 3. See Isaiah LIV. 5.

— 11, 12. See Ruth II. 14.

#### HOSEA.

II. 13. See Jer. v. 19.

— 18. "And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground."

To the ten new things which will be in the future belongs, 7) that the Holy One will bring together all beasts, all fowls and creeping things, and will make a covenant with them and with all Israel; as it is said, "And in that day will I make a covenant," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers* XII. 12, sect. 15.

III. 5. "Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king."

Targum: Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the service of the Lord their God, and be obedient to Messiah the Son of David, their king.

XIV. 7. "They that dwell under his shadow shall return."

Targum: They shall dwell under the shadow of their Messiah.

#### JOEL.

II. 28. "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," etc.

God said: In this world only a few prophesy; but in the future all Israelites will be prophets, as it is said, "And it shall come to pass afterward," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers* XI. 16, sect. 15.

IV. 18. "And a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim."

As the first redeemer (i. e., Moses) caused a spring to come up, so also will the last do; as it is said, "And a fountain shall come forth," etc.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* I. 9.

#### AMOS.

IV. 7. "And I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city."

The rabbis have taught: In the cycle of seven years in which the Son of David shall come, in the first year this scripture will be fulfilled, "And I will

cause it to rain upon one city, and cause it not to rain upon another city;" in the second the arrows of famine shall be sent; in the third there shall be a great famine, and men and women, pious people and men of deed, shall die, and the law shall be forgotten by those who have studied it; in the fourth shall be satiety, but it shall not be satiety; in the fifth shall be great satiety, and they shall eat and drink, and rejoice, and the law shall return to those who had learned; in the sixth, uproar; in the seventh, wars; in the end of the seventh the Son of David will come. Behold, exclaimed Rav Joseph, there have been many septennial cycles of this kind, and Messiah has not come. Abaye replied: Were there voices in the sixth year, and wars in the seventh? or did the events occur in the same order?—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 1.<sup>1</sup>

- V. 18. "Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord! to what end is it for you? the day of the Lord is darkness, and not light."

Rabbi Sintār lectured: What is the meaning of what is written, "Woe unto you that desire the day," etc. It is to be compared to a cock and a bat which were once waiting for the light, when the cock said to the bat, "I wait for the light, because the light is intended for me, but thou, what is the light to thee?" And this is similar to what Rabbi Abuhu answered a certain Sadducee, who had asked when Messiah will come: "When darkness will overwhelm your people," was the reply.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.

- VIII. 11. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, or a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord."

Ten famines came into the world; the first was in the days of the first man, for it is said: "cursed is the ground for thy sake" (Gen. III. 14); the second in the days of Lamech, for it is said "because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed" (Gen. v. 29); the third in the days of Abraham (Gen. XII. 10); the fourth in the days of Isaac (XXVI. 1); the fifth in Jacob's time (XLV. 6); the sixth in the time of the Judges (Ruth I. 1); the seventh in the days of David (2 Sam. XXI. 1); the eighth in the days of Elisha (2 Kgs. VI. 28); the tenth will be in the future, as it is said, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine," etc.—*Midrash on Genesis*, v. 29, sect. 25.

- IX. 11. "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen."

Rav Nachman said to Rav Isaac: Hast thou heard when the son of the fallen come? Who is the Son of the Fallen? [Reply.] Messiah. Is the Messiah called the Son of the Fallen? Yes. For it is written, "In that day will I raise," etc. Well, replied Rav Isaac, thus said Rabbi Jochanan: In the generation when the son of David will come, the disciples of the wise will

<sup>1</sup> The same we also find in *Midrash on Song of Solomon*, II. 13.

be diminished, the eyes of those that shall be left shall be consumed with grief and anguish, and many calamities and oppressive edicts will be repeatedly decreed, so that before one visitation ceases a second will come on speedily.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 96, col. 2; 97 col. 1; *Yalkut on Amos* XI. 11. After enumerating the unexpected deliverance of Joseph, Moses, Ruth, David, of Israel in the days of Haman, the Midrash continues: Who could have expected that the Holy One, blessed be He! would raise up the fallen tabernacle of David, as it is said, "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen," (and who should have expected) that the whole world should become one congregation? Yet it is said, "for thee will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent" (Zeph. III. 9).—*Midrash on Genesis*, XL. 23; sect. 88.

## OBADIAH.

18. "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall kindle in them."  
The Israelites said before God: Lord of the Universe! how long shall we be in bondage? He replied: Till the day comes of which it is said, There shall come a star of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel" (Num. XXIV. 12). As soon as the star comes of Jacob, the stubble of Esau will burn. How is this proved? From "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame," etc. God said: In that hour my kingdom will be glorious and I will rule over you, as it is said, "And saviors shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau, and the kingdom shall be the Lord's" (Obad. 21).—*Midrash on Deuteronomy*, II. 4, sect. 1.

## MICAH.

- IV. 3. "Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."  
Rabbi Elieser said: In the time of the Messiah, will not be found any arms, because they will not be needed, for it is said "Nation shall not lift up a sword," etc.—*Talmud Shabbath*, fol. 63, col. 1.
- 8. "And thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come."  
*Targum*: And thou, O Messiah of Israel, who art hidden by reason of the sins of the congregation of Zion, to thee hereafter is the kingdom to come.
- V. 2. "But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be a ruler in Israel."  
*Targum*: But thou, Bethlehem-Ephratah, thou hast been little to be counted among the thousands of the house of Judah, yet out of thee shall come forth

before me Messiah, to exercise dominion over Israel, whose name is spoken of from old, from the days of eternity.

- 3. "Therefore will He give them up, until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel."

Rav said: The Son of David will not come until the ungodly kingdom has spread itself for a period of nine months over Israel,<sup>1</sup> for it is said, "Therefore will He give them up," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.

- 5. "And this man shall be the peace, when the Assyrian shall come into our land; and when he shall tread in our palaces, then shall we raise against him shepherds, and eight principal men."

Rabbi Simeon, the son of Yochai, has taught: When you see a Persian horse tied to the graves of the land of Israel, expect the footsteps of the Messiah. What is the reason? "And this man shall be the peace," etc. And who are the seven shepherds? In the midst is David, Adam, Seth, Methuselah to his right, and Abraham, Jacob and Moses to his left. And where went Isaac? He went and sat down at the gate of hell, to save his children from the judgment of hell, and the eight principal men are: Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephaniah, Hezekiah, Elijah and the King Messiah.—*Midrash on Song of Solomon*, VIII. 10.

- VII, 6. "For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter in law against her mother in law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house."

Rabbi Nehorai said: In the generation in which the Son of David will come, boys will confuse the faces of old men. Old men will rise up before the young. The son will treat the father shamefully,<sup>2</sup> and the daughter will rise up against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. The face of that generation will be as the face of a dog; the son will have no shame before his father.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 1.

In the footprints of the Messiah impudence will increase, and there will be scarcity. The vine will produce its fruit, but wine will be dear, and the government will turn itself to heresy, and there will be no reproof. And the house of assembly will be for fornication. Galilee will be destroyed, and Gablas laid waste; and the men of Gabul will go from city to city and find no favor. And the wisdom of scribes will stink, and those that fear sin will be despised, and truth will fail. Boys will confuse the faces of old men. Old men will rise up before the young. The son will treat the father shamefully, the daughter will rise up against her mother; the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes will be those of his own household. The

<sup>1</sup> *Talmud Yoma*, fol. 10, col. 1, read for "over Israel," over the whole world.

<sup>2</sup> The same we find in *Midrash on Song of Solomon*, 2, 13.

face of that generation will be as the face of a dog; the son will have no shame before his father. Upon whom, then, are we to rely? Upon our Father who is in heaven.—*Talmud Sotah*, fol. 49, col. 2.

## NAHUM.

- I. 15. "Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace! O Judah, keep thy solemn feasts," etc.

When the evangelist will come once, Judah will be the first to hear the good tidings, as it is said, "Behold upon the mountains," etc.—*Midrash on Numbers*, II. 9; sect. 2.

## HABAKKUK.

- II. 3. See Isa. xxx. 18.

- III. 18. "Yet I will rejoice in the Lord."

*Targum*: Then on account of the miracles and deliverance that thou shalt perform for thy Messiah.

## ZEPHANIAH.

- III. 9. "For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent."

Rabbi Eliezer said: In the future, all Gentiles will be converts, which, as Rabbi Joseph said, is proved, "for then will I turn to the people a pure language," etc.—*Talmud Aboda Zarah*, fol. 24, col. 1.

- 11. "For then I will take away out of the midst of thee them that rejoice in thy pride, and thou shalt no more be haughty because of my holy mountain." Seiri said, in the name of Rabbi Hanina: The Son of David will not come till all pride has ceased in Israel, for it is said, "For then I will take away," etc. And it is also written, "I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the Lord" (v. 12).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

## HAGGAI.

- II. 6. "Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land."

"Behold I have begun." This refers, said Rabbi Azarya, to the help which is once to come. How so? As the prophet said to Israel, "Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens," etc.—*Midrash on Deuteronomy*, II. 31; sect. 1.

## ZECHARIAH.

- I. 20. "And the Lord showed me four carpenters."

Who are these four carpenters? Rav Chana the son of Bisna said, in the name of Rabbi Simon the Pious: They were Messiah the son of David, Messiah

the son of Joseph, Elijah, and the Angel of Righteousness.—*Talmud Suah*, fol. 52, col. 2; *Yalkut* in *Exod.*

II. 10. See below under IX. 9.

III. 8. "I will bring forth my servant, the Branch."

*Targum*: Behold! I bring my servant the Messiah, who shall be revealed.

IV. 7. "The head-stone thereof."

*Targum*: And he shall reveal his Messiah, whose name was spoken from eternity. "Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain." This is the king Messiah. And why is he called the great mountain? Because he is greater than the patriarchs.—*Tanhuma* in *Yalkut* in loco.

VI. 12. "And speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Branch, and he shall grow up out of his place," etc.

*Targum*: And thou shalt speak to him, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, saying, Behold the man, Messiah is his name, who shall hereafter be revealed and anointed.

— See above Jer. XXIII. 6.

VII. 13. See above Jer. v. 19.

IX. 1. "The burden of the word of the Lord in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus shall be the rest thereof."

What is the meaning of the word Hadrach? According to Rabbi Judah it is the name of a place. According to Rabbi Nehemiah, Hadrach is the name of the king, Messiah, because he is sharp (*had*) and gentle (*rach*); sharp to the Gentiles and soft to the Israelites.—*Midrash on the Song of Solomon* VII. 5; *Yalkut* in loco.



## ✧ CONTRIBUTED ✧ NOTES. ✧

**The Native Language of Abraham.**—It would be reasonable to infer that the native language of Abraham was Aramaic, since he emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees to the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 31). Moreover, in Deut. xxvi. 5, where directions are given for the offering of the first-fruits, reference is made to Abraham as the Syrian. Also the word Hebrew, which is applied first to Abraham (Abram), Gen. xiv. 13, points in the same direction. *Hebrew* means the one from beyond, i. e., beyond the Euphrates. It is a patronymic from עֵבֶר *the country beyond*, עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר *the country beyond the river*. The appellative would then mean *the one who comes from beyond* (the river). It is so translated in the Septuagint δ περάτης. The conclusive argument, however, is to be taken from Gen. xxxi., according to which Jacob and Laban made a heap of stones, commemorative of their covenant. Jacob gave it a Hebrew name, Galeed, גִּלְעָד, *heap of witness*, but Laban called it Jegarshahadutha יְגַרְשָׁהדּוּתָא, which has the same meaning as Galeed. This compound Jegarshahadutha is Aramaic. The only reason why Laban would use Aramaic, would be because it was his own language and that of the country in which he lived.

The grandfather of Laban was Nahor, and of Jacob, Abraham. Nahor and Abraham were brothers, the sons of Terah, Gen. xi. 27. When Terah went out from Ur, he took with him Abram and his grandson Lot, whose father, Haran, had died. He left behind Nahor, his second son, the father of Bethuel and grandfather of Laban. Those that remained in their own country would not change their language, and since Laban spoke Aramaic that must have been originally the language of Terah and his family. It is probable that Abraham knew Hebrew before he came into the land of Canaan, for there is no indication that he had any difficulty in conversing with its inhabitants.

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**Two Corrections.**—I have to make two corrections in my article in the July number of *HEBRAICA*, to which Professor Nöldeke has kindly called my attention. On page 250, line 4, مَضْب is the Greek ἰδέσθαι *he was of opinion*. For مَضْب = ἰδέσθαι, see Hoffmann "De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis," p. 211, 24. We have the same use of the word in مَضْب = ἰδεῖν = ὁρᾶν. Wright, "Catalogue of Syriac MSS.," p. 494a, 599, l. 5.; Frothingham, "Stephen bar Sudaili," p. 59. Bar 'Alī, No. 1546. Knös "Chrestomathia," p. 7, 8, etc.

Professor Nöldeke also thinks it probable that Bar 'Ebhryā has made Thales to be his own countryman, as المَطْلِي ("Hist. Dynast.," p. 50) can also be the Nisba of مَطْلِيَّة = Μελετινή ("Yâkût," s. v.). In this way the two texts would agree.

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## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### TELONI'S CHRESTOMAZIA ASSIRA.\*

This chrestomathy is modeled after Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*. After a short introduction of 11 pp., the author gives in pp. 14-19 the most common Assyrian signs with their most usual values. In this *Sillibario*, the order followed is that of Lyon rather than that of Friedrich Delitzsch. The author has also, after Lyon, separated the phonetic from the ideographic values, the latter appearing on pp. 113-121. Much can be said in favor of this, but, on the whole, the old method seems to be preferable. It enables the student to have before him in one table both values, and, as only the most common ideograms appear in an elementary book of this kind, there is no danger of confusion. The grammar proper extends over pp. 20-50. It is very elementary—in fact, rather too brief and elementary even for a beginner's manual. In the paradigms of the verb, the author follows neither Delitzsch's nor Lyon's nomenclature, e. g., *ikašad* is *Pres.*, *ikšud*, *Impf.*, etc. Pages 50-76 contain Assyrian texts, the most of which are accompanied by a transliteration. The texts used are rather stale, as they have appeared in every elementary Assyrian book which has ever been published. The author's method of transliteration is that of Schrader. With few exceptions the texts are published correctly and very little fault can be found with the transliterations. Pages 77-112 form a commentary to the preceding texts and transliterations, and on pp. 121-144 is given a list of all the words occurring in those texts. The commentary is the chief feature of the book. The method pursued is to be commended highly. The author introduces the pupil at once into Assyrian bibliography, and gives him an insight into the only true method of studying Assyrian. After a careful study of these notes, the student must be well versed in the literature, as constant reference has been made to everything of importance which has ever been published.

The book is printed from photo-engraved plates and is very legible, although the author's writing is not as clear as that of Delitzsch or Pinches.

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### DELITZSCH'S GENESIS.†

The venerable author of this excellent work has for decades occupied a position among Old Testament specialists as unique as it has been prominent. In him are found harmoniously united two characteristics that on the surface some-

\* CHRESTOMAZIA ASSIRA con paradigmi grammaticali compilata dal Dott. Bruto Telsoni, Lib. Doc. di Assiriologia nel R. Istituto di Studi Superiori. Pubblicazioni della Società Asiatica Italiana. Volume I. Firenze: *Libreria di Ermanno Loescher*. 1887. pp. IV, 144. Prezzo, per i non Soci, Lire 10.

† NEUER COMMENTAR UEBER DIE GENESIS, von Franz Delitzsch. Leipzig: *Dorffting und Franke*, 1887.

times appear inconsistent with each other. And herein the man and his work exhibit their individuality and independence. There are none, among modern commentators, who more profoundly than Delitzsch accept the revealed character of the sacred records, admit and hold fast to that which is supernatural in both the contents of these records and also their inspiration, as over against the naturalistic tendencies of the philosophic thought of the day, which have gained such controlling power in the revolutionary hypothesis of the advanced Old Testament critics; and, on the other hand, there are none who admit more readily than he that, from the human side, these records, as literary compositions that were developed under historical circumstances, that "have had their fates" like other productions of the pen, are the legitimate subjects of historical criticism. It is his stand-point that the application of the current canons of literary criticism to the books of the Bible not only do not injure their character as a revelation and the records of a revelation, but rather enhance these, by exhibiting the origin and growth of these books in their entire historical surroundings and thus enabling the student to draw from them all the better the wealth of truth that was originally deposited in them. The commentaries of Delitzsch, and especially his exposition of Genesis, are exhibitions of these principles put into practice. While it is not always clear to the reader how the writer can adhere to the tenets of the one without violating the rights of the other principle, certain it is, that Delitzsch nearly always succeeds in drawing from the biblical books the pure and wholesome truths of divine revelation.

These facts also explain the fundamental thoughts underlying the method and spirit of the new commentary on Genesis. Naturally Old Testament students will be most interested in the author's position on the problems of Higher Criticism. The book before us is really the fifth edition of the commentary which in 1872 appeared for the fourth time. The changes and improvements are, however, so many and so great, that the author is justified in calling it not the fifth edition of a former work, but "a new commentary." These last fifteen years have witnessed a revolution in the literary criticism of the Old Testament. The old theory of the "supplement," which the Jehovist was thought to have been for the Elohist, is entirely abandoned, thanks to the searching investigations of Hupfeld. A sure basis for critical analysis of the Pentateuch has been made by the theory that the documents of the present Pentateuch were originally separate and independent productions, prepared at different stages in the history of Israel's religious development, which stages they too reflect directly and indirectly, and that these documents were later united into one work. From this stand-point the literary researches of the Pentateuch have been progressing with marked agreement up to the stage which the historical questions of the order of the documents and the historico-theological question of the restatement of the religious factors and forces that entered into and directed Israel's religion in origin and development, have reached.

The older editions of this work were prepared under the spell of the supplementary theory. That Delitzsch, too, had abandoned this, was known from various essays in theological periodicals. Now he has formulated them and given a summary of his views of the origin of the Pentateuch as these have crystallized in his mind after fully a half-century's patient and pious study. He, of course, accepts the ordinary analysis of the Pentateuch, and this is declared by the Germans to be the outcome and fruit of a century's close, critical scrutiny. In the

minor details of the analysis, where not all are yet agreed, he generally sides with Dillmann, in the analysis given in Knobel's Commentary on the Hexateuch. Delitzsch, too, regards the Priest-Codex as the latest and no longer as the earliest document in the Pentateuch, but differs widely from the radical school in claiming for it a pre-exilic origin. In general he looks with horror upon the naturalistic reconstruction schemes of the Wellhausen-Kuenen school. He tersely says that he does not believe in "the religion of the era of Darwin;" i. e., he is not willing to analyze God out of his word and out of the history of Israel and substitute the idea of natural development. It would be a serious misconception of Delitzsch's position to think that he does not accept as historical the contents of the Pentateuch because he places at a later date their literary composition. While he makes concessions in this regard that conservative scholars, particularly in America, are not willing to make, he yet regards as divinely conducted and inspired the history and the records of these books. Nothing is more fixed in his mind than that the book whose thoughts he is unfolding is the word of God. He may have peculiar ideas as to the manner in which these thoughts received the literary shape in which they are now found, but for him this does not affect the revealed character of the thoughts.

Concerning the details of the comments probably little needs to be said. Delitzsch's methods in this regard are well known. With the ardor of youth the aged nestor has collected from the rich storehouses of special research whatever is of any aid in interpreting the words of the book of Genesis. With the experienced scholarship of one who has taught for years, he has sifted the material carefully and retained only that which is of positive value. Whatever historical, philological, archæological, and other investigation, especially Assyriology, has offered has been carefully weighed, although in Assyriology he is willing to accept as reliable what many others regard as at best problematic. A specially valuable feature of the work is that its materials are collected chiefly from primary sources of information and not from secondary, thus opening a field of study to which even Dillmann is an insufficient introduction; and, further, that this material is offered in such a shape as to urge on the student to further study. Of course the commentary in this way contains much that, strictly speaking, might have been excluded as having but little direct bearing on the interpretation proper of the text, but the student can well afford to take this superabundance of good things.

In short, the new commentary is the fruit of long and ripe scholarship. It is the fruit of a life's work. Its merits entitle it to the warmest welcome, and its careful study cannot but be exceedingly profitable.

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#### A TARGUM CHRESTOMATHY.\*

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The critical study of the Bible, and especially of the Massoretic text, has of late brought the old versions into great prominence. It has been found that only by means of a careful and critical use of these versions, as Cornill has

\* CHRESTOMATHIA TARGUMICA quam collatis libris manu scriptis antiquissimis Tiberiensi-bus editionibusque impressis celeberrimis ad codices vocalibus Babylonicis instructos edidit adnotatione critica et glossario instruxit Adalbertus Merx. Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Pars VIII. Berlin, H. Reuther, 1888.

done for Ezekiel, can we control the Hebrew text which has come down to us. One of the most important of these, representing as it does one stage in the history of the biblical text, is the Targûm. Many difficulties, however, have stood in the way of a proper use of this ancient witness. Chief among these has been the unscientific state of these texts in our common editions. Teachers who have attempted to make their study a part of a college or seminary course, know the many difficulties which impede their way. The oldest editions, based, it is true, upon some MS. authority, though not always the best, have become as scarce as the MSS. themselves. The same holds good of the Polyglotts, which, in addition, are too unwieldy for general use. Until recently we have had to rely upon the texts printed in many of the Hebrew Bibles, which are either carelessly edited, or corrected according to some peculiar system.\*

The German Oriental Society, at its meeting at Breslau, in the year 1857, resolved itself to undertake the publication of good Targûm texts based upon MSS. But nothing definite came of this decision.† Within the last few years, however, a beginning has been made by individual scholars to meet this difficulty. Lagarde has given us a faithful copy of the consonant text of the celebrated Reuchlin codex of the year 1105, and has made the Bomberg text of the Hagiographa accessible to students. Berliner has made us acquainted with the Mâssôrâh to the Targûm Onkelos, and has given us a handy edition of the very rare Sabbioneta text of the Pentateuch. But this has reference only to the consonant text, which turns out to be more fixed than has generally been supposed. The greatest divergence in the MSS. and editions, however, lies in the vocalization. Here disorder and uncertainty reign supreme. Dr. Berliner, an authority on the subject, says ("Massorah," p. 124), "I am now quite certain that there is hardly a single line in the texts of our editions which is free from mistakes." A grammar of the Jewish Aramaic is as yet an impossibility; our Targûm lexicon is full of false forms. A scientific study of the Targûmim can be made only upon the basis of a comparison of the best and oldest MSS. If we had only Tiberian MSS. at our disposal, it would be impossible to arrive at any certainty whatever. But the discovery of old Targûm MSS., punctuated according to the Babylonian system, has made such an attempt possible. These Babylonian texts do not differ so much among themselves. They are vocalized according to a uniform system. They represent the pronunciation as it was fixed by a school; the Tiberian, on the other hand, that of the common people. It will be seen from this that the Babylonian texts must form the basis of any future edition of the Targûmim. This does not mean that the Babylonian is *a priori* to be given the prominence over the Tiberian. They are two distinct systems of punctuation; but it is only by means of the Babylonian that we can properly determine the Tiberian system.

But a good deal of preliminary work has to be done before we can think of re-editing any of the Targûmim. The different MSS. (of which there are quite a number) must be examined, collated, and arranged in classes. The best must be selected, and the necessary variants noted.

\* Merderer, in his "Decalogus Praeceptorum Divinorum, etc.," says expressly, "Item Targhum Onkeli in Decalogum . . . . . recens punctis juxta analogiam grammaticam notatum per eundem." Buxtorf, in his edition of 1618, '19, says that he has edited the chaldaic text "ad antiquam veram et perpetuam priscæ linguae Chaldaicae analogiam libris Esrae et Danielis pulcherrime praemonstratam."

† See the history of different attempts in Berliner, "Targum Onkelos," II., p. 198 seq.; Lagarde, "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen," 1887, No. 22, p. 861, seq. (Mittheil., II, p. 108).

The general plan of such a work has been sketched in the excellent little work of Professor Merx, of Heidelberg, "Bemerkungen über die Vocalisation der Targume" (Proceedings of Berlin Oriental Congress, Berlin, 1882, I., 142). With this end in view the same scholar has compiled the work before us, which forms part of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*. This little book deserves a hearty welcome from all interested in these studies. The Babylonian texts are here taken as the basis; the Tiberian variants from MSS. and old prints are given in notes at the bottom of the page. Professor Merx has confined himself, in these notes, to the most necessary references, though he has occasionally given us a grammatical or lexicographical excursus. The Babylonian superior punctuation is almost exclusively used, thus giving students a chance of becoming acquainted with this system. The book will have a double use. For the first time scholars will have the MS. evidence systematically presented; they will be able to determine the comparative worth of the two systems of vocalization. But the chrestomathy will also be of use to teachers who can safely put these texts into the hands of students. A small lexicon will make it possible for a beginner to find his way with very little help. It is safe to suppose that this new chrestomathy will give a fresh impetus to the study of these ancient texts which are so interesting to philologists as well as to students of the Biblical Word.

It is impossible in this brief notice to go into any detail. The lexicon is a very welcome addition, though a more extended use might have been made of some of the dialects—the Palmyrene for instance. As Professor Merx has occasionally gone out of his way to cite Ethiopic and Arabic, the Assyrian might have been brought in in several places to advantage. The science of Assyrian philology has surely advanced far enough to make its claims to recognition heard even by compilers of rabbinical grammars and lexicons.

It may be well to mention here that the library of Temple Emanu-El, in New York, possesses a MS. *Maḥzôr*, of the thirteenth century, which contains a number of the *Hapṭârôth* in the Aramaic translation. The text is not that of our usual editions, but similar to the one found by Lagarde in an *Ehrfurt Maḥzôr*.\* Upon some other occasion I hope to speak more fully about this *Maḥzôr*.

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\* Symmicta I., 189. Cf. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, p. 120.

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## SPECIMENS FROM THE NESTORIAN BURIAL SERVICE.

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New York City.

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The Nestorian Burial Service, from which the Ritual of the Washing was published in *HEBRAICA* of January,<sup>1</sup> well repays reading throughout. There are, to be sure, many repetitions, which become tedious after a while; but there are so many striking anthems and other poetic portions, along with many Scripture passages which appear in a new light, or, owing to the Syriac phraseology, in peculiar fitness for their special application in the service, that the several parts are extremely interesting by themselves, and the whole most beautiful. Many of these occur in the special parts of the service employed over particular classes of the dead. Were it not that a mere synopsis would be tediously long, it would be given here. It will do for the present to say that, besides the separate services for persons of every ecclesiastical grade, and for the men, the women, the youth, and the children, there are others even for the bridegroom, the bride, the rich, the strangers, the murdered, the drowned,—and still more.

It is proposed here to present a few specimens from the *pasôqa*, applicable to a few of these classes. In every case, however, there are alternations that may be sung or chanted either in addition to or in place of those here given.

The first specimen is a couple of anthems that conclude the *pasôqa* for women. The Syriac text runs as follows, most of the points being omitted, as not necessary for the reader:

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<sup>1</sup> In that article, by a double error, the leaves and pages of the MS. were said to be 148 and 298. They should be 138 and 274; two pages being blank.



אִשְׁרָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא שֶׁרַח מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא  
 זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא זָעֵבֶת כֹּחַ מִן חֵתְלָא

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 TRANSLATION.
 

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"*Another.* In [the tune of] The Lord opened to her. *Anthem:*

"On one of the days [*i. e.* one day], when I was passing through [*lit. over*]  
 Bethany,  
 I also saw there Martha and Mary, as they were weeping.

"*Versicles:*

"For they were weeping bitterly a groaning weeping,  
 Like sirens in the midst of the seas and the rivers.  
 For they were cooing after the manner of a dove over her young,  
 Like the man from whom the son of [his] old age is taken away.

"*In the same, of Women:*

"O King Messiah, Renewer of all, vouchsafe to thy handmaid  
 That with the Wise Virgins she may enter into light.

*Versicles:*

"The dove, the young woman, that was brooding over her young,  
 Death pounced upon her like a hawk, and destroyed her life;  
 The blessed vine that was planted in the blessed vineyard [giver.  
 By the pruning-hook of death, lo! she was gathered in (reaped) from her life-  
 The chosen stone, that was set in the head of the corner,  
 By the ax of death, lo! she was torn off from the mountain of her house."

Respecting the fitness of the tune specified in the first rubric, "Another," etc., it may be noted that this anthem follows a series of poetical prayers (anthems and versicles) which, with many beautiful similes, entreat the Lord to receive her, along with the blessed companies, especially the wise virgins (who furnish an abundance of beautiful similes), into the heavenly marriage feast—though that is not the only simile of the sort used. One set of versicles, for instance, contains the following: "El God, merciful Lord of created beings, mingle the soul of thy handmaid with those of the Virgins, that she may sing praise and utter voices [*i. e.* such as living creatures use as peculiar to their tribe], and multiply thanksgivings and voices of praise to thy great and holy name with all of her [being] joyfulness; that she may be a companion to the Virgins of the Parable." The rubric then takes on the dramatic, the "anthem" representing the Lord as speaking, while the versicles are the antiphonal song of priests and deacons; or, in case of a sufficiently enlightened people, of priests and congregation. The Scripture allusions in both anthem and versicle are generally plain enough. The "sirens," however, join a Scripture idea with one of the literary and folk-lore ideas. For the whole subject, see R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, 2620, 2621. The Septuagint uses the word in a like signification.

With regard to the second anthem and versicles, the "Renewer of all," or "Maker anew of all things," has its origin in a number of Scripture expressions, such as Ps. CIV. 30; but cannot possibly, in Syriac, come from Apocalypse XXI. 5. The phrase occurs elsewhere in the Burial Service; *e. g.* in the anthem at the "complete burying," or filling up the grave: "*Anthem*: O King Messiah, Renewer of all in the day of thy [*lit.* his] coming, Vouchsafe to thy servant that he may sing praises at thy right hand. *Versicle*: In the day that thou comest, Messiah our King, for the proving of all, Grant to thy servant openness of face with thy holy ones." The other allusions are so manifest that I forbear to give particular references. They would likewise, if all were cited, unduly swell this article. In the Syriac, the fourth word from the end, the scribe has accidentally transposed with the —.

Another specimen will doubtless be welcome in translation:

"*Another.* Of Brides. *In* [the tune of] *Blessed be our Work.*

"The Bride, whose soul is departed  
From beside the earthly bridegroom,  
Is about to become to-day  
The bride of the heavenly bridegroom.

*Versicles:*

Instead of gold and of pearls  
And the bridal veil of transitory ornament,  
In glorious light she takes delight,  
In joy which has no comparison.

For the bridechamber which death has dissolved,  
That was closed about her on earth,  
Lo! Christ has inclosed her on high  
In the bridechamber that is full of joys.

In this specimen the last quatrain of the versicles is a little peculiar in idiom, and worth giving in the original :

מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .  
מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .

In the special service for children are some most affecting passages ; and the whole would be desirable in translation if it could be presented in a reasonable space. The passage 2 Sam. xii. 16-23, is introduced with wonderful effect. Of course the "suffer little children," or allusion thereto, is introduced over and over again, together with references to Jesus' childhood ; but many Scripture thoughts are adapted which it will be hard to find gathered on the same theme in our language. Many other sources, strange to us, are likewise drawn upon. In one chant and versicle the child is dramatically represented as speaking :

"Let it not grieve you, O [my] parents, that I am separated from you ;  
For great good things are reserved in heaven for every one that believes.

"Versicles :

Although death has taken me from you in the filling of time [i. e. early],  
Little time remains before [you] until I return.  
For I know that the love of a father is very compassionate,  
And to that of a mother there is no comparison — and Job testifies [thereto].

In several places such consolation is involved for the parents as that which consoled Abraham and Sarah when Isaac was saved from being offered up ; but there occurs one remarkable anthem with this allusion that deserves transcription and translation entire :

אֲנִי חַיִּים מֵאֵל . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .  
מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .  
מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .  
מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .  
מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים . מִיָּהּ מַמְלָא דְּחַיִּים .

ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ  
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## TRANSLATION.

"*Another.* In [the tune of] 'The Voice that Calleth.' *Anthem:*

"Blessed be Christ our Redeemer, who invited the children,  
 And made them heirs in the dwelling of heaven.

*Versicles:*

"Said Sarah to Abraham, 'Whither takest thou him—  
 This our only son whom the Lord gave us?  
 To the mountain thou art going up, with him [thither] go up I.  
 Thou seekest to kill him—in his stead I will die.  
 And if it be that his Lord require him, with tears let us persuade him  
 That he will leave to his parents an heir, who is the last one they have.'

"Abraham took the knife, and the fire, with the wood,  
 And took Isaac, his only son, and went up to the mountain.  
 His mother gazed upon him, and fell on his breast,  
 And kissed him and kissed him, and spake thus:  
 'My son, whom at ninety-nine years old the Lord gave us!  
 Yet now that the Lord demands thee, get thee away in peace!'"

"Kissed him and kissed him" seems to me the only fit rendering of ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. "Go thou in peace" is perhaps as good a rendering of ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ as the one given above, which retains the accusative and keeps a reflexive color.

One more specimen will do for the children. The Syriac of the anthem reads as follows:

ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ

In English the anthem and the following versicles read thus; the versicles rhyming, however, in Syriac:

"Go thou, [bit of] splendor, lighted taper,  
 Beautiful abundance, sweet and bitter!

*Versicles:*

"And as for this consuetude,  
 The fruit of the tree  
 Whose ingatherer was death,  
 Also its spiritual transmitter,

Let the parents know  
That precious to his God  
Is the laborer that strays not,  
The child without sin.

This young boy,  
Who found rest in the harbor of the grave,  
Is a companion with them  
[Who are] in the kingdom of the Son.

The word here rendered "in the harbor" is the rather singular (construct ?) form **בְּחֶבֶן**, where the ordinary form **חֶבֶן** or **חֶבֶן** (without dropping the final l) might have been expected, since it is a foreign word. It may, however, have been intended for the exact Greek form, nominative or accusative, *λιμὴν*. In most cases where the word commonly occurs, it would seem that the dative form had been transferred into the language.

The preceding specimens come from that part of the *pasôqa* called the *qûrbanâ*, or offering (*qûrbanê* in the plural), which some may think a separate division of the service. The canon for the *qûrbanê* is given, with certain other canons, near the end of the MS., as follows; the places here omitted, or in brackets, being the four or five words that are torn away at the corner of a leaf, where some, at least letters, must be conjecturally supplied :

"*Concerning the Qûrbanê of the Departed.* Concerning the *qûrbanê* (i. e. offerings) and commemorations and restings (requiems) which believers perform for their departed, they are not known as a canon which the apostles doubted. For if the *qûrbanê* and [commemorations] are not profitable, how do we believe that the Lord Jesus [is adorable in(?), or, magnified(?)] his honor? For he offered himself as an offering (*qûrbanâ*) to his Father, and paid the debt of our father Adam, and expiated his sin which was the cause of death. For he that doubts in this respect is no Christian, but denies the resurrection of the dead, according to the testimony of the blessed Paul, 'For if the dead rise not, neither is Christ risen;<sup>1</sup> for all of it, that he descended to Sheol, and that he will revive the dead from [their] graves, and in deed will establish the general resurrection—if Christ rose not, that preaching is vain, and our belief is a thing of nought. But that Christ rose from the dead is very truth, the signs and wonders establish, that were done at the hands of the apostles, who testified concerning the resurrection; for God did not show his powers and mighty deeds by the hands of lying witnesses; and the wise men of Greece and the philosophers of Athens would not have received the preaching that the Man Crucified rose from the dead...[world], unless they had seen signs of mighty working that was above nature, [done] by the preachers of the resurrection. Therefore the dead are more abundantly helped by

<sup>1</sup> Not an exact quotation either from the Peshitto or from the Harklensian.

qûrbânê and restings (requiems) and righteousnesses (alms) which are done in their behalf, and they attain rest of their souls and expiation of their sins, without doubt."

In the preceding parts of the *pasôqa* occur many anthems and versicles of which the curious might desire a specimen. The betrothed maiden, the bridegroom cut off just before his wedding, the only son of a mother, and so on, have affecting dirges sung over them; but the similes are mostly too familiar to be cited. Over strangers, besides the lamentation that he died away from his friends, and had no mother or other relations to weep over him, no familiar ones rightly to perform his obsequies, the comparison of his burial with that of Moses, whose sepulchre no man knoweth, though the angels gathered him in, is used in several ways, with extreme beauty. But to say nothing of lack of space, a translation would scarcely exhibit their excellence without the full Syriac text. The murdered have a choice of seven different anthems (with the versicles); the drowned, four, in which Peter's experience in walking on the water—saved by Jesus' hand, and the flood, serve as some of the effective comparisons. In many of them the metrical structure of the anthem adds to the force, though the variation consists in little more than the number of syllables in a verse (line). In some, as the versicles for the betrothed maiden, rhyme decidedly adds to the force. For the rich there are four anthems, which readers will doubtless be gratified to see in translation, though it would be better to see the shading from the original text:

"*Another. Of the Rich.* In the tune 'To Him that is Compassionate.' *Anthem.*

"O world, how bitter art thou!  
And thy gains are not fast held.

As for me, woe is me! What shall I do?  
For the day of judgment draws nigh, is at hand!

"*Versicles:*

"Thou didst move me, also thou didst entice (or, flatter) me  
By thy refreshments, and by thy wealth,  
And like a bird of prey thou didst bind me fast,  
And didst loose me that I may seek forgiveness.

"For thy refreshments are transitory [lit., of the filling of time],  
And their diligent quests are distress,  
And their joys not to be relied upon;  
They have sunk me in perdition.

"*Anthem:*

"Flee from the world, flee from its riches, also from its evil;  
And look and examine into the way of death, how bitter [it is].

*"Versicles :*

"Look upon me, brethren, how I wrought and how I toiled ;  
But nothing of my possessions cleaves to me, except my deeds.

"The riches of the world do not deliver the race of man,  
Nor does his substance enter with him into the kingdom.

*"Of the Rich. In the same [tune].*

"Flee from the world and from men, O man !  
And prove and see that thou certainly diest, O man !

*"Versicles :*

"The grave is thy house ; and the darkness, thy light, O man !  
And worms and the moth eat thy flesh, O man !

"Those [treasures] that thou gatheredst, for whom shall they be, O man !  
And thy debts alone go with thee, O man !

"Cursed is the world, and cursed is its riches, O man !  
And cursed is every one whosoever that loves it, O man !

*"Of the Rich. In the tune 'Come, let us Repent.' Anthem.*

"O inhabitant of time [i. e. temporary dweller],  
Whom his acquisitions will not deliver,  
Rest thee in the peace  
That lodgeth beside thee.

*"Versicles :*

"By thy favors I was increased,  
Yet I was despised with thee [i. e. in thy estimation] ;  
And to-day I go down  
To the grave of humiliation.

"Look on me, beloved ones,  
And remember my despising,  
And love it no more—  
The riches of this world."

## THE HEBREW HEXAMETER.

BY PROF. C. A. BRIGGS, D. D.,

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The Hebrew Hexameter is a double trimeter. The caesura ordinarily divides the line in the middle. Hence it is not always easy to decide whether the line is a hexameter or two trimeters. But there are several helps to the decision of this question. (a) The hexameter lines occasionally divide by the caesura into  $4 + 2$  or  $2 + 4$ . (b) There will also be examples of two caesuras dividing the line into  $2 + 2 + 2$ . (c) Pentameter lines will be found to vary the movement. As we have found that the poet will shorten his trimeter into a dimeter, his tetrameter into a trimeter and his pentameter into a tetrameter, so there are occasional pentameter lines in hexameter poems. (d) The second half of the line will be complement to the first half, and the parallelism will be between the hexameter lines.

### I. THE CAPABLE WIFE.

אשת-חיל מי ימצא | ורחק מפנינים מכרה  
בטח-בה לב בעלה | ושלל לא יחסר  
גמלתה טוב ולא-רע | כל ימי חייה  
דרשה צמר ופשתים | ותעש בחפץ כפיה  
היתה כאניות סוחר | ממרחק תביא לחמה  
ותקם בעוד-לילה | ותתן טרף-לביתה | וחק לנערתיה  
זממה שרה ותקחהו | מפרי כפיה נטע-כרם  
חגרה בעץ מתניה | ותאמץ זרועתיה  
טעמה כי-טוב סחרה | לא-יכבה כליל נרה  
ידיה שלחה בכישור | וכפיה תמכו פלך  
כפה פרשה לעני | וידיה שלחה לאביון  
לא-תירא לביתה משלג | כי-כל-ביתה לבש שנים  
מרבדים עשתה-לה | שש וארגמן לבושה  
נודע בשערים בעלה | בשבתו עם-זקני ארץ  
סדן עשתה ותמכר | וחגור נתנה לכנעני  
עז והדר לבושה | ותשחק ליום אחרון  
פיה פתחה בחכמה | ותורת חסד על-לשונה  
צופיה הליכות ביתה | ולחם עצלות לא-תאכל



קמו בניה ויאשרוה | בעלה ויהללה  
 רבות בנות עש-חיל | ואת עלית על-כלנה  
 שקר-החן והבל-היפי | אשה יראת-יהוה | היא תתהלל  
 תגולה מפרי ידיה | ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה

This beautiful alphabetical poem might be taken as composed of alphabetical trimeter distichs, so far as most of the poem is concerned; for the caesura is in the middle of the line in all cases except four lines. But lines ו and ז have two caesuras and the lines with ח and ק are pentameters.

## PSALM CXXXVII.

## I.

על-נהרות בבל | שם ישבנו | גם בכינו  
 בזכרנו את-ציון | על-ערכים בתוכה | תלינו כנורותינו  
 כי שם שאלנו שובינו | דברי שיר  
 ותוללנו שמחה | שירו לנו משיר ציון

## II.

איך נשיר את-שיר יהוה | על-אדמת נכר  
 אם אשכחך ירושלם | תשכח ימיני  
 תרבק לשוני לחכי | אם לא אוכרכי  
 אם לא אעלה את-ירושלם | על-ראש שמחתי

## III.

זכר יהוה לבני אדום | את-יום ירושלם  
 האמרים ערו ערו | עד היסוד בה  
 בת-בבל השדודה | אשרי שישלם-לך | את-גמולך שגמלת-לנו  
 אשרי שיאחז | ונפץ את-עולליך אל הסלע

This song is composed of three strophes of four lines each. The hexameters are more varied than in the previous piece. The Massorites make an unfortunate division of verses one and two that destroys the rhythm. We have really two hexameter lines with each two caesuras, and the parallelism is essentially synonymous. The second distich is also synonymous in the relations of its lines; but the distich is progressive to the first distich, giving the reason of it. The third hexameter has its caesura after the fourth beat, the fourth hexameter after the second beat.

In the second strophe the first line has the caesura after the fourth beat. This is followed by a synonymous tristich. The second line of the strophe is a pentameter as it stands; but the verb lacks an object which must be supplied, and

it is not clear from the context what that should be. It seems likely that the object has been omitted by an early copiest, and the line has thus become defective. We might supply קנה or some such noun. The third line has the caesura in the middle, and the fourth line gives the caesura after the fourth beat.

The third strophe is composed of two distichs. The first distich is synthetic; the second is synonymous. The first expresses the vindictive feelings toward Edom; the second, towards Babylon. The first line has the caesura after the fourth beat; the second line, in the middle; the third line has two caesuras and is rather long; the fourth line gives the caesura after the second beat. It is possible that בת-בבל השרודה is a later addition, and that the whole of the last strophe originally referred to Edom.

(3) Isaiah LX. is a fine example of the hexameter. It agrees with the first piece that we have given in placing the caesura in the middle of the line so frequently that in many places the production seems like a trimeter poem. But taking the poem as a whole, there seems to be little doubt that it is a hexameter.

## ISAIAH LX.—STROPHE I.

קומי-אורי כי-בא אורך | וכבוד-יהוה עליך זרח  
 כי-הנה החשך יכסה ארץ | וערפל לאמים  
 ועליך יזרח יהוה | וכבודו עליך יראה  
 והלכו גוים לאורך | ומלכים לנגה זרחך  
 שאי-סביב עיניך וראי | כלם נקבצו באור-לך  
 בנך מרחוק יבאו | ובנתך על-צד תאמנה  
 אז תראי ונהרת | ופחד ורחב לבבך  
 כי-יהפך עליך המוקים | חיל-גוים יבאו לך  
 שפעת גמלים תכסך | בכרי-מרין ועיפה כלם  
 משבא יבאו | זהב-ולבונה ישאו | ותהלות-יהוה יבשרו  
 כל-צאן קדר יקבצו-לך | אילי נביות ישרתונך  
 ועלו על-רצון מובחי | ובית תפארתי אפאר

These lines all have the caesura in the middle with the exception of two. The second line has the measure 4 + 2; the tenth line has two caesuras. The Massorites wrongly attach כלם to the tenth line. We have given it at the close of the ninth, where it is necessary to complete the hexameter movement. If this were the only strophe of the poem, it might be taken as a trimeter.

## STROPHE II.

מי-אלה כעב תעופינה | וכיונים אל ארכתיהם  
 כי-לי אים יקוו | ואניות תרשיש בראשנה

להביא בניך מרחוק | כספם וזהבם אתם  
 לשם יהוה אלהיך | ולקדוש ישראל כי-פארך  
 ובנו בני-נכר חמתוך | ומלכיהם ישרתונך  
 כי בקצפי הכיתוך | וברצוני רחמתך  
 ופתחו שעריך תמיד | יומם ולילה לא-יסגרו  
 להביא אליך חיל גוים | ומלכיהם נהוגים  
 כי הגוי והממלכה | אשר-לא יעברוך יאברו  
 — — — והגוים חרב יחרבו |  
 כבוד-הלכנו אליך יבא | ברוש-תדרה ותאשור יחרו  
 לפאר מקום מקדשי | ומקום רגלי אכבר

In this strophe there are four lines in which there is a departure from the usage of this piece to place the caesura in the middle of the line. There are two pentameters in lines 5 and 6. Line 8 has the measure  $4 + 2$ . Line 10 is a broken line such as we have found at times in tetrameters and pentameters.

## STROPHE III.

והלכו אליך שחוח | בני מעניך  
 והשתחוו על-כפות רגליך | כל מנאצין  
 וקראו-לך עיר יהוה | ציון קדוש ישראל  
 תחת היותך עזובה | ושנואה ואין עובר  
 ושמתוך לגאון עולם | משרש דור ודור  
 וינקת חלב גוים | ושר מלכים תינקי  
 וידעת כי-אני יהוה מושיעך | ונאלך אביר-יעקב  
 תחת-הנחשת אביא זהב | ותחת-הברזל אביא כסף  
 ותחת-העצים (אביא) נחשת | ותחת-האבנים (אביא) ברזל  
 ושמתי פקדתך שלום | ונגשיך צדקה  
 לא-ישמע עוד חמס בארצך | שר-ושבר בגבולך  
 וקראת ישועה חומתך | ושעריך תהלה

This strophe differs from the other two already considered in having a much greater variety of measure. Lines 1, 2, 10 and 12 are pentameters. Lines 7 and 11 have the measure  $4 + 2$ . Line 9 seems to be defective in the Massoretic text. It is necessary to insert the verb **אביא** twice here, as in the previous line; then the hexameter has the caesura in the middle.

## STROPHE IV.

לא-יהיה-לך-עוד השמש לאור-יומם | וללנה הירח לא-יאיר-לך  
 והיה-לך יהוה לאור-עולם | ואלהיך לתפארתך

לא-יבוא עוד שמשך | וירחך לא יאסף  
 כי-יהוה יהיה-לך לאור-עולם | ושלמו ימי אבלך  
 ועמך כלם צדיקים | לעולם יירשו ארץ  
 נצר מטעו | מעשה ידי להתפאר  
 הקטן יהיה לאלף | והצעיר לגוי עצום  
 אני-יהוה בעתה אחישנה | — — —

The three previous strophes are of twelve lines. This fourth strophe has but eight lines. The lines have the caesura in the middle with the exception of lines 2 and 6, which are pentameters, and the last line, which is a broken line and a trimeter.

(4) Jeremiah is very fond of the hexameter movement. We shall give a specimen from his lamentation in chapters VIII.-IX.

מבליגיתי עלי ינן | עלי לבי דוי  
 הנה קול שועת בת-עמי | מארץ מרחקים  
 היהוה אין בציון | אם-מלכה אין בה  
 מדרע הכעסוני בפסליהם | בהבלי נכר  
 עבר קציר | כלה קיץ | ואנחנו לא-נרשענו  
 על-שבר בת-עמי השברתי | קררתי שמה החזקתני  
 הצרי אין בגלעד | אם-רפא אין שם  
 כי-מדרע לא עלתה | ארכת בת-עמי  
 מי-יתן ראשי מים | ועיני מקור דמעה  
 ואבכה יומם ולילה | את חללי בת-עמי  
 מי-יתנני במדבר | מלון ארחים | ואעזבה את-עמי  
 ואלכה מאתם | כי-כלם מנאפים | עצרת בגדים

The lines as usual are divided by the caesura into two equal parts; but there are exceptions. Line 2 has the measure 4 + 2, lines 4 and 8 are pentameters, and lines 5, 11 and 12 have two caesuras each.

The prophet Jeremiah uses the hexameter movement in his little book of comfort (xxx.-xxxı.). Another fine example of the hexameter is the Apocalypse Isaiah, xxiv.-xxvii., which is composed of twelve strophes of ten lines each (see Briggs' "Messianic Prophecy," 295-308; 246-257). Examples might be multiplied; but we have given a sufficient number to illustrate the rhythm.

BY PROF. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

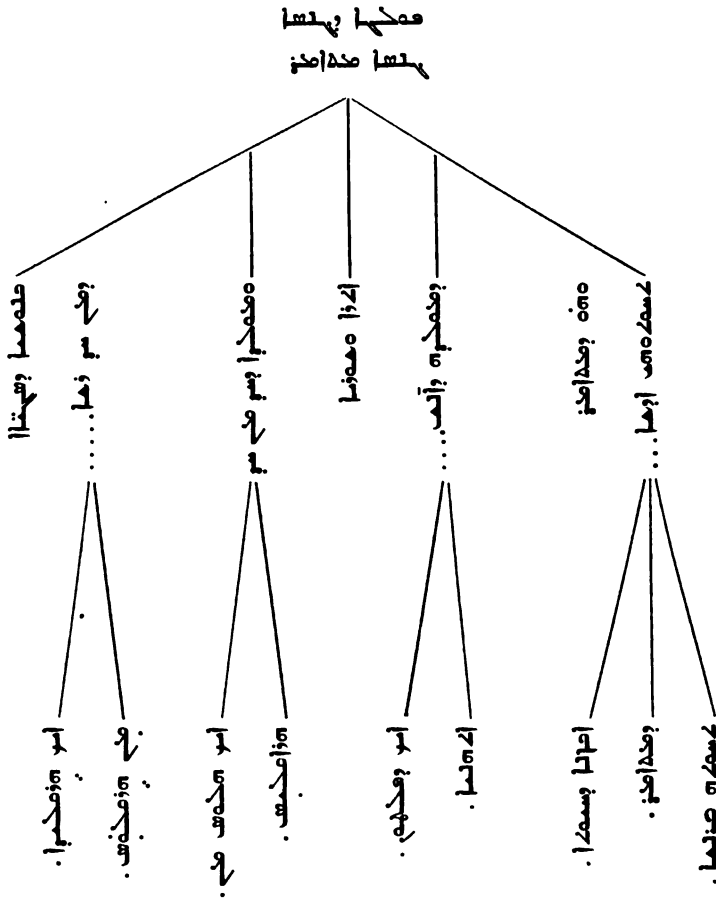
In the year 1886, whilst busied in Berlin and London with the Syriac translations of the *Canon* of Aristotle and of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry,<sup>1</sup> I had occasion to examine closely MS. Sachau 116. It is described in the *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung*, p. 11, as containing "Sticke logischer Schriften von Aristoteles und Porphyrius (bes. tabellarische Darstellungen)."

The MS. consists wholly of individual leaves and parts of different Kurrâs. I have not noted how many there are ; but some of my extracts were taken from Kurrâs twenty-four and twenty-five. The MS. must, therefore, have been quite voluminous. These " tabellarische Darstellungen " are nothing more than the well-known *Tables* of Porphyry.<sup>3</sup> These tables commence at the end of Kurrâsa 24 where we read  
 ٢٤ من صمدى ملى محله مقبله | حلاله | اسفبه | عذنه  
 فكلها معده مستعلا | ايد صبا | واما : | وحاله | . | اسفبه ملى  
 : نكتب اسم As a specimen, I give the first table :

<sup>1</sup> There are at least two translations of the *Isagoge* into Syriac (MS. or. Berlin Petermann, 1, 9, fols. 8b-86a, and MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14, 658, fols. 61-73). There is also an Arabic translation in the Petermann MS. I have made copies of all three. For other MSS. see Wenrich *De Auctorum Græcorum versionibus*, etc., Lipsiæ, 1842, p. 280. The Arabic translation mentioned by Wenrich, l. c., p. 282, Zenker, *Aristotelis Categoriae*, p. 18, as having been made by Bar 'Ebhryâ, is probably only a compendium. Such a compendium exists also in the S<sup>c</sup>wâdh Suphia, Hêwath Hekhm<sup>e</sup>thâ, and M<sup>e</sup>nârath Kudhê. See *A List of Plants*, etc., p. 5.

Of the Syriac translation of the *Categoriae* there are even four different versions known to me. 1. MS. Brit. Mus., 14659 fol. 8a-22b, perhaps by George, Bishop of Arabs, in a MS. of the 8th or 9th century. 2. MS. Brit. Mus. add 14658, fol. 73a-91b, probably by Sargis of Rās 'Ain, in a MS. of the 7th century. 3. MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancient Fonds 161, fol. 11b-27b (according to a collation of Dr. Winckler) = MS. Vatican 158, fol. 27b (collation of Prof. Guidi), by the celebrated Ya'kūbh 'Urhāyā (cf. Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis*, p. 17). 4. Berlin MS. Sachau 226 fol. 10a-42b, a very recent copy (see *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar*, p. 22). I have made faithful copies of the London and Berlin MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1158a. Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 202.



The MS.; however, contains no work of Aristotle. The text which still remains in addition to the tables, consists of a rhymed metrical description (I can not call a poem) of the human body. The description is interrupted (verses 37-162) by a comparison of the human body with the vegetable and animal world. Verses 162-165 read "we will also enumerate briefly | each one of the parts (of the body) | what power it has | in the human body. | "

As the description now stands (completing the first strophe), it contains 267 verses. The beginning is wanting. How many verses there were originally it is now impossible to say. I think the end is complete. Whether the leaves which contain the following text follow each other correctly is questionable. They were disconnected and bore neither mark or catch-word. The Kurrâsa number did not

... and ... arranged ... in the way the text would give the ...

The ... of ... the metre of ... ... consisting of ... I was for some time doubtful whether ... The ... has five verses: but in two other ... and 59 seq., which seems to show ...

The ... and the author of the composition are unknown. From line 37. ... and from the fact that the personal pronoun ... to the subject of which the author is speaking is always masculine ... that the title was ... Karmaedidināya. ap. Puyss ... cites two verses (255, 256) as from a ... "most ... description." The same is the case with verses 31 and 32: see ... In his article on the word ... col. 2238, ... that where Karmaedidināya uses the word as an authority, he ... "I am unable to decide whether this is ... The full title no doubt is ...

The ... is written in a good old Nestorian hand of about the seventeenth century. ... and ... have been abundantly added. I have not ... except in a very few instances, to reproduce these. Professors ... have very kindly offered me some textual suggestions ... at the foot of the page.

5	1
...	...
...	...
...	...
...	...
18	9
...	...
...	...

(1) The specimen of the Munich MS. given in Hodge, *The Book of the Bee*. Oxford: 1890.  
 (2) Hald.: MS. ...

16      ܡܚܠܐ ܣܦܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܠܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܠܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .

17      ܠܡܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܠܐ .  
 ܣܦܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .

26      ܠܡܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .

38      ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
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41      ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ .  
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1 Nöld.; MS. ܡܚܠܐ  
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2 Fol. 1b.



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<p>239          ܩܬܝܥܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܐܢܝ .          ܠܚܬܐ ܡܡܥܠܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܢܝ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܐܬܝܢܐ ܕܚܬܐ .</p>	<p>234          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>
<p>247          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>	<p>243          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>
<p>255          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>	<p>251          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>
<p>264          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>	<p>259          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .          ܕܚܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܬܐ ܩܬܝܥܐ .</p>

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 4b.

<sup>2</sup> So the MS. We must read either *ܕܚܬܐ* *Payne Smith*, col. 1768, s. v., and 732, s. v. *ܕܚܬܐ* (where *ܕܚܬܐ* = *ܕܚܬܐ* and where Smith's correction is wrong; cf. also col. 1725, s. v.), col. 1767, *ܕܚܬܐ* in "Causa Causarum," or rather *ܕܚܬܐ*. Cf. the passage cited by Karmaddin-ayā ap. *Payne Smith*, col. 2264 (where we must read *ܕܚܬܐ* and not *ܕܚܬܐ*).

<sup>3</sup> Nöld.; MS. *ܕܚܬܐ*

## PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS.<sup>1</sup>

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A few words touching the field of controversy are needed in order to a correct idea of the theories and the stand-point of the authorities cited.

The prevailing theory is the Grafian. Graf's followers, pre-eminent among whom are Kuenen and Wellhausen, consider the "prophetic," so-called (JE), to be the older of the two main sources of the Hexateuch. JE itself is composite, a close amalgamation of two kindred narratives of Hebrew history. J (circ. 800) and E (circ. 750) circulated for a time independently, and were more or less modified. After the destruction of Ephraim and the discovery of Deuteronomy (621) whose origin also must be placed at about this period (650-621), J and E were united into a closely welded whole, and soon after, Deuteronomy, which had, meantime, received an introduction and an appendix, was incorporated.<sup>2</sup>

These two processes necessitated further interpolation and modification, and for a considerable period  $\frac{(J + E) + D}{R_{je} R_d} = JED$  circulated as a well-rounded "prophetic" compilation. But with the interruption of the cultus by the exile began the process of codification of the Levitical, ritual law. Heretofore it had been consuetudinary, tradition and the living praxis having sufficed for its transmission. Ezekiel (40-48)<sup>3</sup> inaugurated the new system of a written Torah, which progressed during the exile with the formation of the code known as the Heiligkeitgesetz, P<sup>1</sup> (Lev. 17-26), an antique body of laws midway in tone between Deuteronomy and the priestly legislation. It culminated in the priestly code, P<sup>2</sup>. This great work drew from JE a sketch of the history, made from its own stand-point; it incorporated and added to P<sup>1</sup>, and was itself subsequently expanded by P<sup>3</sup>. Ezra introduced it as the constitution of the post-exilic hierarchical state. A final redactor, R, combined P with JED at some time between

<sup>1</sup> A TABULAR PRESENTATION ACCORDING TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS OF HIGHER CRITICISM, INCLUDING FRAGMENTS AND PORTIONS ASSIGNED TO EDITORS, INTERPOLATORS, COMPILERS AND GLOSSATORS.

The writer has in preparation a volume embodying the subjoined analysis and presenting J, E, and P conjecturally restored.

In order that the discussion of the Pentateuchal question, announced by Professors Harper and Green, might be followed to the best advantage, it was decided to insert as a preliminary paper a "tabulated presentation" of the Analysis itself. Everyone will see, at a glance, that with such a presentation as a basis the discussion can be conducted much more easily and satisfactorily. The second paper upon the subject will appear in the October HEBRAICA, and will treat of the first twelve chapters of Genesis.—*Editor*.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen holds that the amalgamation of J and E preceded the origin of D.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout the article, chapters are distinguished from verses by means of bold-faced type.

Ezra's promulgation thereof (444 B. C.) and the appearance of the LXX. version (circ. 280 B. C.). We might express the process by the formula: Hexateuch =

$$\frac{(J + E) + D + (P^1 + P^2 + P^3)}{R^1e \quad R^d \quad R}$$

Against the Grafians a minority of critics under the able leadership of Dillmann still maintain the older theory, in a modified form. This school nearly coincides with the Grafian in the date and origin assigned to the prophetic narrative JE, and to Deuteronomy; but insists upon an earlier origin for P. Dillmann describes the development of the priestly element (P) somewhat as follows:<sup>1</sup>

The most ancient portions of P are more properly to be considered a cluster of fragments, most densely aggregated together in Lev. 17-26, but scattered also throughout the middle portion of the Hexateuch from Ex. 31 to Num. 15. In a certain sense they may be considered as having a common "source," since attempts at codification were made probably as early as the period of Jehoshaphat, the material itself being consuetudinary law transmitted in certain cases from a period as remote as the first centuries after the conquest. But this source P<sup>1</sup> (Dill. S) shows no such unity of design as to enable us to treat it as a specific document. On the contrary certain portions were incorporated by P<sup>2</sup> and worked over by him, certain others were taken up by R after complete recasting at his hand, still others adopted in an unassimilated form.<sup>4</sup>

But the differences still remaining between these various fragments of P<sup>1</sup>, after allowance has been made for the double redaction of P<sup>2</sup> and R in the one case and of R alone in the other, is too great to admit of their having existed together in a single code. Two codes of P<sup>1</sup> at least were current, beside individual *toroth*, and the process of redaction of P<sup>1</sup> extended demonstrably into the Exile. A considerable group of fragments from one of these (including its hortatory conclusion, Lev. 26:3-45) still exhibiting its characteristic point of view of "holiness," is preserved to us in Leviticus 17-26, worked over, however, by P<sup>2</sup>.

P<sup>2</sup>, for whom the date 800 B. C. is approximately determined by Dillmann, is held to be dependent for his historical material largely upon E (900-850 B. C.), also upon the *sources* of J, which are frequently very ancient. Here and there he has ancient historical material of his own, but his richest sources are of course the priestly *toroth*. In the first half of the eighth century appeared J, dependent largely upon E, but also using P<sup>2</sup>, though writing from a totally different standpoint. As a popular writer he has access to popular sources. R's work consisted simply in the *simultaneous* combination of E, P<sup>2</sup>, J, and parts of P<sup>1</sup>. Very rarely does he use the pen; but in the transposition, clipping, and piecing of his material he shows the utmost freedom. Deuteronomy, the latest document of the

<sup>4</sup> The Hypothesis broached in Dill. II. of a version of S (P<sup>1</sup>) worked over and incorporated by C (P<sup>1</sup>J) is withdrawn in Dill. III., p. 633; hence the only remaining versions of P<sup>1</sup> recognized by him are P<sup>1</sup>p<sup>2</sup> and P<sup>1</sup>r. From these are to be distinguished perhaps unadulterated fragments P<sup>1</sup> (III., pp. 633-670).



Hexateuch, was added by a later redactor, R<sup>d</sup>, who used the pen more freely. Thus Dillmann, followed in general by Ed. Riehm ("Handwörterbuch der bibl. Alterthum," Halle).

The most recent period of Hexateuch criticism shows the development of a third school of more conservative character. W. Robertson Smith ("Old Test. in the Jewish Church," Appleton & Co., 1881; and "Prophets of Israel," 1882) made an attempt to show the compatibility of the Grafian theory with evangelical theology; but for a time the only safe course for orthodox scholars who recognized the scientific character of critical methods, was supposed to be to follow Dillmann. Two professors of the Leipzig faculty, however, F. E. König ("Offenbarungs begriff des Alt. Test.," 2 vols.; Leipzig, 1882), and the veteran commentator of world-wide fame, Franz Delitzsch ("Ztschr. f. k. W. und k. Leben," 1880; and "Genesis," Leipzig, 1887) have boldly adopted the Grafian theory in its main outlines as not only in their opinion preferable in itself, but as affording a better basis for the defence of orthodoxy than Dillmann's. W. Graf von Baudissin also ("Heutige Stand der a. t. Wissenschaft," Giessen, 1885) seeks a middle ground between Dillmann and Wellhausen. But in the special department of Hexateuch analysis a still more recent writer has the best claim to be considered the representative of that modern school which seeks both to avail itself of all the resources of criticism from an evangelical stand-point and to take an independent position while doing full justice to Dillmann on the one hand and to Kuenen and Wellhausen on the other. This most recent authority is R. Kittel ("Geschichte der Hebräer," Gotha, 1888).

The following is a list of authorities from which our data are derived:

*Dillmann, August.*

Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Hand-buch zum Alten Testament.

VOL.

- I. Die Genesis. 5. Auflage. Leipzig: 1886.
- II. Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. 2. Auflage. Leipzig: 1880.
- III. Die Bücher Numeri Deuteronomium und Josua. 2. Auflage. Leipzig, 1886.

*Delitzsch, Franz.*

- I. Neuer Commentar über die Genesis. Leipzig: 1887.
- II. Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben. 1. Hefte I-XII. 1880.

*Kittel, R.*

Geschichte der Hebräer.

- I. 1. Halbband: Quellenkunde und Geschichte bis zum Tode Josuas. 1888.
- II. Theologische Studien aus Württemberg VII. 1886.

*Kuenen, A.*

- I. Historico-critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch. (Trans. by Wicksteed of Historisch-critisch Onderzoek. 2. Uitgave. Leiden: 1885) London: 1886.
- II. Theologisch Tijdschrift XI., XII., XIII., XV., XVIII. 1877-1884.

*Wellhausen, Julius.*

- I., II., III. Die Composition des Hexateuches. Three articles in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, XXI., XXII. 1876, 1877. The same reprinted in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Part II. Berlin: 1885, and translated by Colenso in *Wellhausen on the Composition*.

*Budde, K.*

- I. Die Biblische Urgeschichte (Gen. I.-XII. 5) untersucht. Giessen: 1883.
- II. Gen. XLVIII. 7 und die benachbarten Abschnitte: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, III. 1883.
- III. Richter und Josua. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII. 1887.

*Jülicher, A.*

- I. Die Quellen von Exod. I.-VII. 7. Dissertation. Halle: 1880.
- II. Die Quellen von Exod. VII. 8-XXIV. 11. *Jahrbuch für Protestantische Theologie*, VIII. 1882.

The above cited works furnish the data for the summary of Hexateuch analysis, and are selected for completeness and for their representative character. The divergence between the analysis of Dillmann and Wellhausen measures, probably, the extent of difference on this score among the recognized critical authorities of to-day.

These authorities are referred to under the following abbreviations: Dill. I., II., III.; Del. I. and II. 1, 2, 3, etc.; Kitt. I., II.; Kuen. I. and XI., XII., etc.; Well. I., II., III.; Bud. I., II., III.; Jül. I., II., III. For a bibliography of critical works, the reader is referred to Dill. I., II., III. and Kuen. I.

**A. THE PRIESTLY LAW BOOK P<sup>1</sup>.****I. Genesis.**

In the following pages the analysis of Dillmann is given as the basis, and that of the other critics in the foot-notes. Every divergence, even if no more than a portion of a verse, is noted. Where more or less is attributed by different critics to the source in question, this also is indicated. Where there is complete agreement *id. (idem)* is used. I have not thought it necessary in giving the analysis of Kuenen and Wellhausen in all cases to distinguish between JE, the redactor of J and E (whose work was performed about the period of D, and whose style is admitted to be almost indistinguishable from the deuteronomio), and R<sup>d</sup>, the redactor of JE and D. The distinction is not always made by the critics themselves. In general it amounts to this, that JE is a harmonist, R<sup>d</sup> an interpolator and embellisher. P<sup>1</sup>, in our nomenclature, stands for all additions not of a merely editorial nature, appended by second, third or fourth hand to the great law-book whose framework is the priestly history. Similarly J<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>, include all elements not of an editorial character which have been appended to the original "prophetic" documents. Notes intended according to the critics for harmonizing JE and E, or for the union of JE to D, and glosses and interpolations in general of a minor character, supposed to have preceded the union of JED to P, are included under R<sup>d</sup>. R occupies toward JEDP the same relation that R<sub>d</sub> does to JED. Dillmann's theory, of course, makes the activity of R precede that of R<sup>d</sup> whose work consisted in uniting D to JEP.

1. *The TOLEDOTH of the Heavens and the Earth*: an account of creation and of the institution of the Sabbath.

1:2-2:4a (2:4a, the original title, was removed from before 1:2 by R, who supplied instead v. 1).<sup>1</sup>

2. *The Book of the TOLEDOTH of Adam*: a genealogy of ten generations, the tenth link branching into three, showing the descent of Noah from Adam in the line of the eldest son.

5:1-32 (exc. v. 29 [= J]).<sup>2</sup>

2. *The TOLEDOTH of Noah*: an account of the flood, lasting for two periods of five months and one of two months (365 days), and of the institution of God's covenant with Noah; the Noachic legislation.

6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,23b,24; 8:1,2a,3b,-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,23f (7:7-9 = R).<sup>3</sup>

4. *The TOLEDOTH of the sons of Noah*: an ethnological table deriving the peoples of the world by descent from the three sons of Noah, beginning with the youngest.

10:1-7,20,22f,31f.<sup>4</sup>

5. *The TOLEDOTH of Shem*: a second genealogy in ten generations branching into Abram, Nahor and Haran.

11:10-26.<sup>5</sup>

6. *The TOLEDOTH of Terah*: (a) a history of the migration of Terah, and of the journey and settlement in Canaan of Abram and Lot his descendants.

11:27,31\*,32 (מֵאֹרֶךְ כְּשֵׁרִים in v. 31 = R) 12:4b,5; 13:6,11b (from יִפְרֹדֶן 12a (to הַכְּכַר)).<sup>6</sup>

(b) Further items in the history of the Terachites: Lot delivered from the overthrow of Sodom; Abram begets Ishmael; theophany to Abram and institution of the law of circumcision; promise of Isaac; Isaac's birth; Sarah dies; Abraham buys the field of Ephron and buries Sarah in the cave of Machpelah; death and burial of Abraham.

19:29; 16:1,3,15f; ch. 17 (in v. 1 read אֱלֹהִים, changed by R to יְהוָה 21:1b\*,2b-5 (in v. 1b read אֱלֹהִים) ch. 23; 25:7-11a.<sup>7</sup>

7. *The TOLEDOTH of Ishmael*: a table of the twelve tribes of the Ishmaelites and notice of the age and death of Ishmael.

<sup>1</sup> Well., Kuen., Bud., Del., Kitt., 1:1-2:4a (2:4a before 1:1; Well. finds traces of an older source employed by P<sup>2</sup>. Bud. and Kuen. (?) identify this older writer as J<sup>1</sup>, the author of the deluge story, whom P<sup>2</sup> follows elsewhere.)

<sup>2</sup> Id. (Bud. finds also traces of enrichment by R from J<sup>2</sup> in vs. 22-24. In v. 22 he reads יִרְדֵּי וְיִצְחָק and from v. 24 only מֵאֹרֶךְ כְּשֵׁרִים).

<sup>3</sup> Id. (exc. 7:23b, given to J by Bud., Kuen. and Del.; 7:17a, assigned to P<sup>2</sup> [exc. אֲרִבְעִים יָמִים = R] by Bud. and Kuen. (?); and 7:6 and 8:13b given by Well., the former to R, the latter to J).

<sup>4</sup> Id. Kittel's analysis begins at this point. He finds P<sup>2</sup> in the same verses.

<sup>5</sup> Id.

<sup>6</sup> Id. (exc. Well. 11:28 and 30 also = P<sup>2</sup> and last clause of 12:5 = J. Del. and Kitt. consider כְּמֵאֹרֶךְ original. Bud. assigns it to J<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> Id. (exc. as to 16:1 and 21:1f; Kitt. 16:1a; Well., Del., 16:1 = J; Well., Kuen. and Del. deny 21:1b to P<sup>2</sup>. Kitt. and Del. assign also v. 2a to P<sup>2</sup>. Bud. as above. see I., p. 224 note).

25:12-17.<sup>8</sup>

8. *The TOLEDOTH of Isaac*: his marriage and the birth of his sons; Esau's marriage displeasing to his parents; Jacob blessed and sent to Paddan-aram for a wife; his family there; he returns [and is involved in war with the Shechemites]; God meets him at Bethel and there renews the covenant with him; arrived at Hebron his father dies and is buried by Esau and Jacob; Esau removes to Mt. Seir.

25:19,20....26b; 26:34f; 27:46; 28:1-9; (29:24,29; 30:4a, 9b(?)); 31:18;\* 33:18;\* 34:1a,2a,4,6,8-10,15-17,20-24....(vs. 13f,18,25,27-29 and טמא in v. 5 = R); 35:6a, 9-15 (exc. עור in v. 9 [= R]) 16 in part, 19 in part; 22b (from ויהיו) —29; 36:2a,5b,6-8; 37:1; (36:1,2b-5a = R with a basis of J(?) and P<sup>2</sup>).<sup>9</sup>

9. *The TOLEDOTH of Esau*: an ethnologico-genealogical table deriving the twelve tribes of the Edomites from Esau; the sons of Esau; [the seven *aluphim* of the Horites; the royal succession of Edom]; the *aluphim* of the Edomites.

36:9a\*,10\*,11,18\*,16-18\*,19a,29f,31-35a,36-43; (vs. 9b,12 and 14, עמלק in v. 16, and חוא אדם in vs. 19 and 35b = R. The names of Esau's wives also in vs. 10,13f,16-18 were altered by R to bring them into correspondence with his source in vs. 1-5).<sup>10</sup>

10. *The TOLEDOTH of Jacob*: Joseph's greatness in Egypt; the sons of Jacob migrate thither [a table of Jacob's descendants]; Pharaoh gives them audience and offers them the land of Ramses; Jacob brings his life to a close in Egypt; adopts the sons of Joseph; gives final directions to his sons; dies, and is buried in the cave of Machpelah.

37:2a (to בעצאן or to יעקב) 41:46,(47(?),36(?),50(?)); 46:6f,8-27, (vs. 8,12b, 15,20, 26f worked over by R); 47:5b, supplying before it from LXX. ויבא מצרימה אל יוסף יעקב ובניו וישמע פרעה מ' מ' ויאמר פרעה ליוסף

Then 5b,6a,7-11, 27 in part, 28; 48:3-6; 49:1a, 28b-32 (exc. either 30b or v. 32 = R); 48:7 (exc. הוא בית לחם = R); 49:33 in part (המטח ... ויאסף = J) 50:12f.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*

<sup>9</sup> The only considerable disagreement affects ch. 34. Well. and Kuen. find positively no trace of P<sup>2</sup> though they make approximately the same division as Dill. Well.: 34:1a,2,4-6,7,\*8-10, 13-18,20-24, 27-29 = X. Del. same verses = P<sup>2</sup>, Kuen. 34:1 and 2 in part, 4-6, 8-10, 13 and 14 in part, 15-17,20-24,25 in part, 27-29 = R. Kitt. agrees with Dill. There are also the following divergences: Kuen. and Del. assign 27:46 to R. Del. gives P<sup>2</sup> also 33:19. All the critics except Dill. deny to P<sup>2</sup> the parts of 35:6,16,19, above mentioned. Kuen., Well. and Del. find traces of an older source underlying P<sup>2</sup> in 35:9 seq., Kuen. holds it to be a lost passage of J referred to by Hosea, ch. 12: 5b, and assigns v. 14 to R. Finally 36:1-5 is thus variously analyzed: Bud. 1-5 = R on a basis of P<sup>2</sup>. Well. 1-5 another source. Kuen. P<sup>2</sup> was perhaps superseded by 1-5, 9-19. Del. v. 1 = P<sup>2</sup>, 2-5 = R. On vs. 6-8 and 37:1, *id.*

<sup>10</sup> Well., Bud., Kuen., Kitt., only vs. 40-43 = P<sup>2</sup>; vs. 9-19 = R following the same source as in vs. 1-5. Kitt. thinks P<sup>2</sup> may lie at the basis of 15-39. Del., 9a,10-18\*,20-43 (in v. 16 *dele* קרר אליו as in Sam.).

<sup>12</sup> Well. and Kuen. reject from P<sup>2</sup> 46:8-27, assigning it to R, otherwise there is practical agreement. Well., 37:2a; 41:46; 46:6f; 47:(LXX.)5b,6a,7-11,27\*,28; 48:3-7; 49:29-33; 50:12f. Bud. (considering only ch. 48f; 48:3-6 (v. 7 = R); 49:1a,28b-33 (exc. ויאסף [= J], and 30b [= R]; add

## II. Exodus-Deuteronomy.

Instead of Del. and Bud., Jül. is referred to for the analysis of Ex. 1-24. Delitzsch's *Pentateuch-critische Studien* relate to historical criticism and only give an occasional indirect indication of his analysis, sufficient, however, to show a general agreement with the other critics. The series of titles with which P<sup>2</sup> marked the headings of his chapters also cease with Genesis, marking the close of the first division of his work, the patriarchal period. P<sup>2</sup> opens the new division of his book with a table of

1. "The sons of Israel which came into Egypt;" the cry of their bondage comes up before God.

1:1-5, 7 (exc. v. *ab*) 13f (exc. *בְּחֶמֶר* . . . *בְּשֵׁרָה* [= J or E] and *אֵת כָּל עֶבֶר* [= R]) 2:23 (from *וַיֵּאָנְחוּ* on) —25.<sup>11</sup>

2. Theophany to Moses; revelation of the name Yahweh as a pledge of deliverance; Moses commissioned to deliver Israel; [a genealogy of Reuben, Simeon and Levi showing the descent of Moses and Aaron:] Aaron appointed Moses' spokesman.

6:2-5, 6\*, 7, 10f, 13, 14-27 (vs. 8f, 12, 28f, 30a = R. Much misplacing is also due to R.) 6:30b—7:7.<sup>12</sup>

3. The five wonders in Egypt. Aaron's contest with the magicians.

(a) The first wonder: Aaron's rod changed to a serpent; the magicians do likewise.

7:8-13.<sup>13</sup>

(b) The second wonder: Aaron's rod turns all the water of Egypt to blood; the magicians do likewise.

7:19-22 (exc. 20, from *יְהוָה* on, and 21a).<sup>14</sup>

(c) The third wonder: Aaron's rod brings frogs; the magicians do likewise.

8:1-3, 11 (from *וְלֹא* on. Supply *וַיִּחָזֶק לֵב פִּרְעֹה*).<sup>15</sup>

(d) The fourth wonder: Aaron's rod brings lice; the magicians fail and acknowledge "the finger of God."

8:12-15.<sup>16</sup>

(e) The fifth wonder: Moses and Aaron sprinkle ashes before Pharaoh; it becomes a boil on man and beast; the magicians being stricken flee. Pharaoh still obdurate.

9:8-12.<sup>17</sup>

*וְאֵת רָחֵל* at end of v. 31). Kuen. 37:2a; 41:46; 46:6f; 47:(LXX.)5b,6a,7-11,27\*,28; 48:3-6 (v. 7 = R); 49:1a,28b-33; 50:12f. Del. 37:2; 48:7 = R or P<sup>2</sup>; 49:32 = R; for the rest in agreement with Dill. Kitt., 37:2aa and 48:3-7; 49:28b-33, for the rest *id.*

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* (exc. that Jül. and Kuen. include also 1:6 and make no note of traces of J or E in v. 13f.

<sup>12</sup> As to 6:2-5 *id.* Well. 6-12. 7:1-7 (vs. 13-30 = R or P<sup>2</sup> misplaced) Jül. 6:13-27,(28) belongs after 2:24. Then 6:2-9; 7:1-7. The rest = R. Kuen. vs. 6-8,13-30 = R. Kitt. 6:2-30 = P<sup>2</sup>, but refers to Kuen.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*

<sup>14</sup> So Jül. Kuen., v. 19, 20 (21c?) 22. Kitt. 19, 20aa, 22. Well. as above + v. 23.

<sup>15</sup> So Kuen. and Well., Jül. and Kitt. include also 11a.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*

<sup>17</sup> So Well., Jül., Kitt., Kuen. (exc. *אֵלֶיָּהֶם* v. 12 = R).

(f) Conclusion of the section. Pharaoh's obduracy provokes the direct intervention of Yahweh.

11:9,10 (9b perhaps = R).<sup>18</sup>

4. Passover: the deliverance from Egypt.

(a) Moses and Aaron receive directions from Yahweh for Israel; regulations concerning the calendar and the killing and eating of the passover lamb.

12:1-13,28.<sup>19</sup>

(b) Egypt smitten; Israel delivered; the law of *Mazzoth*. In 12:37 the word מַרְעָמָס; then vs. 43-49,14-20,50,40,41a (41b = 51) 51.<sup>20</sup>

(c) The first-born shall be Yahweh's.

13:1,2.<sup>21</sup>

5. Passage of the Red Sea.

13:20; 14:1-4,8,9 in part (exc. אַחֲרֵיהֶם....וַיִּרְדְּפוּ [= JE] and רַכֵּב חֶרֶם אֶת מִטְרָן ו in v. 15, and וּפְרָשִׁים [= R]) 15-18 (exc. מֵה תִצְעַק אֵלַי in v. 15, and וּפְרָשִׁים [= E]) 21a.c,22,23,26; the first 6 words of 27,28a,29 (בְּרַכְבוֹ וּבְפָרְשָׁיו) in 17,18,23,26,28 and כָּל סוּם רַכֵּב וְנָוִי in v. 9 = R).<sup>22</sup>

6. The march to Sinai: [Elim]; Manna given; Rephidim; Sinai; Moses goes up into the mount.

(15:27 ?); 16:1-3\*,6\*,8-14,15b,16-18,22-24,31-34,35\*; 17:1a; 19:2a,1; 24:15-18a (to וְהָעֵנָן) (15:27 perhaps E(?). Ch. 16 entirely worked over by R and removed from its proper position [to this all the critics agree]. The P<sup>2</sup> elements are given as above in Dill., III., p. 634, but in II., p. 165, somewhat differently, e. g. v. 6f is attributed to P<sup>2</sup> and v. 8 to R. Vs. 3 in part, 4f,15a, 19f in part, 21,25-30,35a = J, the rest = R).<sup>23</sup>

7. The law and the testimony: the pattern shown in the mount; the institution and regulation of the Levitical ritual.

From Ex. 25 to Num. 10 the entire mass is admitted by all the critics to belong to P in its various stratifications P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, P<sup>3</sup>. Only Ex. 32-34:28, and a trace of E in 31:18 belongs to the "prophetic" element, and in these three chapters Dillmann alone finds a single trace of P<sup>2</sup> (in 32:15a). The extrication of P<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>18</sup> Well., 11:9,10. Kuen. (9:35?) 11:9,10. Jül. and Kitt., 11:9,10? (preferably = R.)

<sup>19</sup> So Well., Jül., Kuen. and Kitt. Del. (VII.) 12:1-10,28 = P<sup>1</sup>. 11-13 = JE.

<sup>20</sup> So Well., Kuen. (40f\*) and Kitt., admitting the order to have been altered by R, but not adopting Dillmann's reconstruction. Jül. gives vs. 14-20 to P<sup>1</sup>. Del. (VII) P<sup>1</sup> = 14-20,42-51.

<sup>21</sup> So Well. and Kitt. Kuen. vs. 1,2 = D<sup>2</sup>. Jül. = P<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Well. 13:20; 14:1,2,4b,8b, 9 in part, 10 in part, 15 in part, 28(?). Jül. 13:20; 14:1,2,3(?),4,8,9,15\*, 17,18,23. Kuen. 13:20(?); (preferably to E) 14:1-4,8,9, 10 in part, 15-18, 21 in part, 22,23,26, 27 in part, 28,29. Kitt. 13:20; 14:1-4,8,9abb,10bb,15,17,18,21a,b,22b,23,26,28a (29 = gloss).

<sup>23</sup> Well. 15:27 = J or E. Then P<sup>2</sup> = 16:1-3,9-13a,16b-18 (to the *athnach*) 22-28,31-34,35a; 17:1a; 19:1\*,2a; 24:15-18a. Jül. 15:27 = J. Then P<sup>2</sup> = 16:1-3,9f,11f,8\*,13f,16-19,21-26,27(?),31,35 (4f,20,27(?), 28-30 = R<sup>4</sup>). The rest of ch. 16 = R) 17:1a; 19:2a,1. Here Jül.'s analysis of P<sup>2</sup> ends. Kuen. 15:27(?); 16:1 in part, 2f,11,12,9,10,6,7 (6-12\*\* and v. 8 = P<sup>1</sup>) 13,14,15b-21,35 in part (vs. 1 in part, 4f,22-27,28-30,31,32-34 and 36 = P<sup>1</sup> and R); 17:1a(?); 19:2a(?); 24:15-18a. Kitt. 15:27; 16:1-3,9-13,14f (in part at least),16b-18a,22-28,31-35a; 19:2a (v. 1 = P<sup>1</sup>); 24:15b-18a (and possibly as a fragment 24:1f,9-11).

P<sup>2</sup>, P<sup>3</sup> in Ex. 25-Num. 10 and the legal chapters of Numbers, with the analysis of the great code of the "prophetic" Hexateuch, Deuteronomy, are reserved for another article. The historical thread of P<sup>2</sup> is traced by all the critics in Ex. 25ff., (the construction of the tabernacle), Lev. 9,10 in part; (the inauguration of the ritual, and death of Nadab and Abihu), Num. 10:11-28; (the departure from Sinai). We proceed from the point where P<sup>2</sup> is again combined with JE, viz., in the story of

8. The sending of the spies, murmuring of the people at their report and the punishment.

Num. 13:1-17a,21,25,26a,32 (to נִיָּו); 14:1 in part, 2 in part, 5-7,10,26,27-29, 34-38.<sup>24</sup>

9. The revolt of Korah and the Levites; punishment of the people's murmuring; the plague arrested by Aaron's atonement.

16:1a,2f in part, 4 in part, 5-7 for the most part, 18-24a,35; 17:6-15,16-28 (16:3 in part, 8-11,16f,24b,27a,32b = R; 17:1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>25</sup>

10. Water from the rock at Meribah; the sin of Moses and Aaron; Aaron's death; fragments of the itinerary.

20:1a (to מֵרִיבָה), 2,3b,6f,8a\*,10a,12\*,13\*,22-29; 21:10f; 22:1 (many traces of R).<sup>26</sup>

11. Israel misled by the Midianites after the counsel of Balaam; Phinehas' prompt action stays the plague.

25:6-9,14-16,19 (10-13 = P<sup>3</sup>. 17f = R. Ch. 31 is connected with this account, but in its present form = P<sup>3</sup>).<sup>27</sup>

12. The census of the nation, preparatory to the occupation of Canaan; regulation of inheritances where the heirs are females; the daughters of Zelophehad.

Ch. 26 (exc. vs. 8-11 and 58-61 [= P<sup>3</sup>]); 27:1-11.<sup>28</sup>

13. Moses receives directions to prepare for his death; Joshua commissioned; Reuben and Gad receive an inheritance east of Jordan.

Deut. 32:48-52 (exc. glosses in vs. 49 and 52. The passage is a repetition of Num. 27:12-14 [P<sup>3</sup> or R], this latter according to Dill. being the copy; Num.

<sup>24</sup> Well. 13:1-17a,21,25, 26 in part, 32 (to נִיָּו); 14:1 in part, 2 in part, 5-7,10,26,27(?),28(?),29,34-38. Kuen. 13:1-17a,21,25,26a,32; 14:1a,2a,3,5-7,10,26-38 (26-38 expanded by R). Kitt. 13:1-17a,21,25,26aba, 32ab; 14:1a,2,5-7,10,26-29,34-39.

<sup>25</sup> Well. 16:1 in part, 2 in part, 8-11 (vs. 6f = R; last clause of v. 7 perhaps removed by R from v. 3 [= E<sup>3</sup>]), 16-22,35; 17:6-15,16-28. Kuen. 16:1 in part, 2 in part, 3-7,13-15a,19-24,27a,35; 17:6-28 (לִי בִן-קֶרֶת בִּן-יִצְחָק in 16:1, and vs. 8-11,16-18 and 17:1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>). Kitt. 16:2-7a,15a,(18),19-23, parts of vs. 24,26f,32-34 (P<sup>3</sup> = 16:1a,7b,8-11,16,17,(18),35; 17:1-5); 17:6-28.

<sup>26</sup> Well. 20:1a,2,3b,6, 9 in part, 12,22-29; 21:4a(?),10f; 22:1. Kuen. 20:1-13 in part (this story of Meribah in P<sup>2</sup> has been welded to another and has since suffered such considerable alteration as to wholly obliterate the "sin of Moses." Kuen. therefore declines to analyze in detail). For the rest *id.* Kitt. 20:1ad,2,6,12,22-29; 21:4ad,10f; 22:1.

<sup>27</sup> Well. 25:6-19 (ch. 31 = P<sup>3</sup>). Kuen. 25:6-15 (16-19 = P<sup>3</sup> or R; ch. 31 = P<sup>3</sup>). Kitt. 25:6-19 (ch. 31 = P<sup>3</sup>, exc. vs. 8 and 16 = fragments of the story of P<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>28</sup> Well. *id.* without the exceptions. Kuen. ch. 26 (exc. vs. 9-11 [= P<sup>3</sup>] v. 3f corrupt); 27:1-11. Kitt. ch. 26 and 27:1-11.

27:15-23; 32:1a (to גַּלְגַּל), 2b,4a,20-22\*,28-30,18f,40(?) (therewith probably Josh. 18:15-19,23-27\*,28,29b,32. See Josh. *in loco*).<sup>29</sup>

14. [An *itinerarium* of the wilderness stations].

33:1-49 (exc. 8f\*,14f\*,16f\*,40,49 [= R]).<sup>30</sup>

15. Moses' death.

Deut. 1:3; 34:1a (to נַחֲשֹׁן), 5\*,7a,8f.<sup>31</sup>

### III. Joshua.

1. Crossing the Jordan; passover at Gilgal [Achan's trespass]; the league with Gibeon.

3:4(?), 4:13,\*15-17,19; 5:10-12; 7:1,18b,25ba; 9:15b,17-21,27 in part<sup>32</sup>.

2. The inheritance of Reuben and Gad.

13:15-19,23-27\*,28,29b,32 (vs.20-22,29a,30f,33 = R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>33</sup>

3. The distribution of the inheritances by lot; Judah's inheritance; a description of the territory of the tribe, giving boundaries, and enumerating the cities and villages.

18:1; 14:1-5; 15:1-12,20-44,48-62 (vs. 45-47 = R, v. 63 = JE inserted by R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>34</sup>

4. The inheritance of Manasseh-Ephraim, of Benjamin, and of the other seven tribes; similar tables of boundaries and cities, ending with a colophon.

17:1a,3f,7\*,9\*,10\*; 16:4\*,5-9; 18:11a,12-28; 19:1ab-7,8b,10-16,17\*,18-23\*, 24\*,25-31\*,32\*,33-39\*,40\*,41-46\*,48,51 (17:1b,2,8,11-13; 16:1-3,10; 18:11b; 19:1aa, 8a,9,27 in part, 47,49f = JE. 17:5f = R).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Well. and Kuen. seem to consider Deut. 32:48-52 a repetition by R or by P<sup>3</sup> himself of Num. 27:12-14. At this point Num. 27:12-23. As to ch. 32, Well. gives to P<sup>3</sup> vs. 16-19 (for substance, but worked over), 24 (= 16) 28-32. Kuen. P<sup>3</sup> underlies 1-5,16-32 (vs. 6-15 = P<sup>3</sup>). R has here so thoroughly digested his material that more cannot be said. Kitt. 27:12-23; 32:2,4,18-22,28-32,40, (אֲדָמָה).....גַּלְגַּל in v. 33 = R, Deut. 32:48-52.

<sup>30</sup> Well. and Kuen. 33:1-49 = R. Kitt. 33:1-49 = R on a basis of P<sup>3</sup>. The legal chapters of P, Num. 33:50-36:13, are reserved for a second article.

<sup>31</sup> Well. and Kuen. Deut. 34:1a,7a(?)8f (1:3 = R). Kitt. Deut. 34:1aa,7a,8f (v. 5 = J).

<sup>32</sup> Well., 4:19 (3:4 = D<sup>2</sup>; 4:15-17 = R); 5:10-12; 9:15c (from *almach*), 17-21; (7:1,18b,25ba = JE, vs. 24f\*). Kuen., 4:13(?),19; 5:10-12; 9:15b,17-21,27a. Kitt., traces in 4:9 and 15-17, v. 19; 5:10-12 (7:1 etc. = R<sup>d</sup>); 9:15b,17-21 (v. 27 = R).

<sup>33</sup> Well., 13:15-33 = P<sup>3</sup>. Kuen., 13:14b [LXX.],15,23b,24,28,29 in part, 31 in part, 32 (the rest of 13:15-33 = R). Kitt. omits the analysis of P<sup>3</sup> in the second part of Josh.

<sup>34</sup> Well., 18:1; 14:1-5; 15:1-12 (exc. traces of JE in v. 4c and 12b),20-44 (45-47 = JE(?)),48-62 (v. 63 = JE). Kuen., 18:1; 14:1-5; 15:1,20 (merely the headings of the lists of cities are given by Kuen. as belonging to P<sup>3</sup> because these can be identified as his, while from the nature of the case the mere names of cities afford no clew, and would doubtless be transferred intact from one source to another. The contents of the list as well as the headings must belong in part at least to P<sup>3</sup>. But all criteria are lacking to determine what part he borrowed and what was added to him).

<sup>35</sup> Well., 16:4-8; 17:1ab,4,7,9 in part, 10a; 18:11-26; ch. 19 (exc. 49f and 15,24b,25a,28,30,35-38 [= JE] and v. 47 [= J(?) or E(?)]); the following are also from JE: 16:1-3 (9f); 17:5,8,9,10b,11-18; 18:2-10 (exc. v. 7 = D<sup>2</sup>) and traces in 19:1,17,32. Kuen., 16:4-8; 17:1a,3-6,11a,20b,28b; 19:1 in part, 8b,16,23,24,31,32 in part, 30,40,48,51 (see note 34).



5. The cities of refuge and the cities of the priests and Levites appointed.

20:1(?)2f,6\*,7-9; 21:1-40 (41-43 = D<sup>2</sup>); the portions of ch. 20 omitted are wanting in LXX. Well. and Kuen. consider LXX. more correct here and regard vs. 4f, etc., as late interpolations in a style imitating D. Dill. prefers the Masoretic text and assigns the additions to R<sup>d</sup>. The LXX. found them superfluous and so omitted them.<sup>36</sup>

6. The altar built by the transjordanic tribes. Its intention is misunderstood by the rest of Israel and they march against Reuben, Gad and Manasseh; explanation of the Gileadites and peaceful separation of the tribes.

22:9f,13-15,19-21,30f,32a....(vs.1-6 = D; vs. 7f = R<sup>d</sup> including a trace of E in v. 8; vs. 11,\*12,24-27,32\*33f = E; vs. 16-20 and 22-29 in their present form = R; the whole chapter thoroughly worked over by R and afterward a second time by R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>37</sup>

### B. THE EPHRAIMITE NARRATIVE E.

The first demonstrable appearance is in Gen. 20. Probable traces in chs. 15 and 14. Not impossible 4:17-24, and 6:1-4, belong to E (Dill. III., p. 617).

#### I. Genesis.

1. [Abram recaptures Lot from Chedorlaomer and is blessed by Melchizedek.]  
Ch. 14: = R (on a basis of E (?) exc. vs. 17-20 = R).<sup>38</sup>

2. The promise of Isaac.

15:2\* (traces in vs. 1,3,5,6 worked over by J and R).<sup>39</sup>

3. Sarah and Abimelech.

Ch. 20 (exc. v. 18, and ועברים ושפחות in v. 14 = R).<sup>40</sup>

4. Birth of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael.

21:6,8-21<sup>41</sup>

5. Abraham's covenant with Abimelech at Beer-sheba.

21:22-32a.<sup>42</sup>

6. The sacrifice of Isaac.

22:1,2\*,3-10,11\*,12f,14\*19 (vs. 15-18 = R).<sup>43</sup>

7. [Abraham's marriage with Keturah.]

<sup>36</sup> Well. and Kuen., ch. 20 according to LXX.; 21:1-40 (41-43 = D<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>37</sup> Well., 22:9-34 (vs. 1-6 = R<sup>d</sup>; v. 8 in part from E; v. 7 = R). Kuen. 22:1-6 = R<sup>d</sup>; vs. 7f = R; vs. 9-34 = P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Well., Kuen. = R entire. Del. = J.\* Kitt. vs. 1-16,21-24 (exc. glosses [e. g. v. 12] and touches of R), and the basis of 17-20 = E. Also, possibly, traces of E in 12:6a,8a (v. 9 = E or R).

<sup>39</sup> Well., 1-6 = E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>. Bud., 1 in part, 3a,2b,5 = E. Kuen., no certain trace of E before Gen. 20. Ch. 15 is composite, but does not necessarily include E. Del., v. 2 = E, 1,3-6 = J. Kitt. 1 in part (common to E and J except יהוה and לך....אל תירא = J) 2,5,6 (v. 6 common to J and E) and some words in 9,12, and 18 (9,12,18 common to J and E).

<sup>40</sup> Id.

<sup>41</sup> Well., 2a; 6-21 (v. 1 = R). Bud., Kuen. and Kitt., 6a,8-21. Del., 6-21.

<sup>42</sup> Id. (exc. Well. adds v. 33).

<sup>43</sup> Kitt. assigns vs. 14-18 to R from J and fails to mention v. 19). Well. vs. 22-24 also = E. Otherwise *id.*

- 25:1-4 (v. 5 = J; v. 6 = R).<sup>44</sup>  
 8. Birth of Jacob and Esau.  
 25:25\*, 27\* (fragments)<sup>45</sup>.  
 9. Isaac in Gerar.  
 26:1\*, 2\*, 6, 46  
 10. The blessing of Isaac; Jacob defrauds Esau of the inheritance.  
 27:1-45 in part. (Vs. 15, 24-27, 30a (to **את יעקב**) 35-38 = J. Vs. 21-23, 30b, 33f = E. 44b = 45aa, one J, the other E. Impossible to carry the analysis further).<sup>47</sup>  
 11. Flight to Haran; Bethel; Jacob's dream and vow.  
 28:11f, 17-22 (v. 19a(?) J and E; 19b, 21b = R).<sup>48</sup>  
 12. Jacob in Haran; marriage with Leah and Rachel.  
 29:1, 15b-30 (exc. vs. 24, 29 = P<sup>2</sup> and v. 26 = J).<sup>49</sup>  
 13. Birth of the tribe-fathers.  
 30:1-3a, 6, 8, 17-24 (exc. 20b, 22c, 24b [= J], 22a [= P<sup>2</sup>] and 21 [= R or J]).<sup>50</sup>  
 14. Jacob's service with Laban; he returns from Aram; pursuit of Laban and covenant on Mt. Gilead.  
 30:26, 28 (32-34 "hardly" E's); 31:2, 4-17, 19f, 21\*, 22-24, 26, 28-45\*, 47\*, 51-54\*, 32:1; (31:10, 12, **יעקב** in v. 45, v. 47 in part, **עַד הַגֵּל** and **הִנֵּה הַגֵּל הַזֶּה וְ** in vs. 51f, **וְאֵת הַמִּצְבָּה הַזֹּאת** in v. 52, and **אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִיהֶם** in v. 53 = R).<sup>51</sup>  
 15. The story of Mahanaim and Peniel; encounter with Esau.  
 32:2f, 4\* (in part) 14b-22, 24, 25-32; 33:4\*, 5, 11a (32:33 = R).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Well.(?), Bud., Kuen., Del. and Kitt. agree that 25:1-6 = J.

<sup>45</sup> Well., vs. 24, 25 perhaps. Bud., Kuen., no trace of E. Del., J or E. Kitt., v. 27f = E and J in common, vs. 26, 26a = E.

<sup>46</sup> Well., Kuen., Kitt., no trace of E. Del., traces of E in ch. 26, e. g. in v. 26 and 32a.

<sup>47</sup> Well. points out the presence of J and E throughout 27:1-45. E appears in vs. 1, 18, 21-24, 28, 30b, 35-38. J in vs. 7 and 20, 24-27, 30a, 33f. So Kuen. and Del. (a trace of J also in 27:46(?)). Kitt., E = 27:1b, 4, 11, 13, 15 in part, 18, 21-23, 28, 30b, 33b, 34, 42.

<sup>48</sup> Well., 28:10-12, 17f, 20, 21a, 22. Kuen., vs. 10-12, 17f, 20, 21a, 22. Del., v. 10 = R, E = 11f, 17-22 (traces of J in 19, 22). Kitt., 11f, 17f, 20, 21a, 22.

<sup>49</sup> Well., 29:1-30 (exc. vs. 24, [28b,] 29 = P<sup>2</sup>(?) and v. 26 = J). Kuen. declines to analyze. Del., v. 1 = J; 15b-30 (exc. 24 and 29 = P<sup>2</sup>) = E. Kitt. as above.

<sup>50</sup> Well., 30:1-8 (exc. 3b and **בְּלִיְהוָה שִׁפְחַת רִחֹל** in v. 7 = R) 17-24 (exc. 20b, 24b = J and v. 21 = R). Kuen. and Del. decline to analyze, but state that E is indicated by the divine name in vs. 6, 8, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23. Kitt., 30:1-3a, 6, 8, 17-20a, 20c-24a. (Owing to a misprint in Kittel's note the dash between 20c and 24a is missing, see p. 123, note 7; and cf. the text above.)

<sup>51</sup> Well., fragments of E in 30:25-30, then vs. 32-34; 31:2, 4-17 (exc. vs. 10 and 12 interpolated by R.), 19-24, 25b, 26, 28-37, 41-45 (**יעקב** in v. 45 = R) 51-54 (exc. the interpolations of R<sup>4</sup> noted above by Dill.); 32:1. Kuen. 30:25-43 (for substance) ch. 31 (exc. v. 18 [= P<sup>2</sup>] 1, 3, 23b [= J], and the portions of 45-54 indicated by Well.). Del., 30:25-43 = J, "comprising fragments of R" (v. 40b = R 31:1-3 = J), vs. 4-17, 19-24 = E; vs. 26-45 = E with parts of J; 47, 50-53, (54 = J) 32:1. Kitt., E = 30:26, 28; 31:2, 4-9, 11, 13-17 (10 and 12 = R), 19-21, 22-44 (exc. 25 and 27) 45 (exc. **יעקב**) 46, 48-50 (exc. 48b, 49) 53; 32:1.

<sup>52</sup> Del., 32:2f = J (sic?). (It is not clear from the commentary, p. 401 seq., whether Del. assigns 32:2f and 3f to the same author or not, but so apparently.) E = 14b-22, 24-33. Well., Kuen., 32:2f, 14b-22; 33:4\*, 5, 8, 11. Kitt., 32:2f, 4, 14b-22, 24, 26a; 33:4b, 5b, 11.

16. Jacob's land purchase at Shechem; fulfills his vow at Bethel; death of Deborah and Rachel.

33:19f;\* 35:1-4,6b-8, 16-19a, 20 (v. 6a = P<sup>2</sup>, הוּא בֵּית אֵל in v. 6 and הוּא בֵּית לֶחֶם in 19b, also vs. 21,22a = R).<sup>53</sup>

17. Joseph's prophetic dreams and the envy of his brethren; Reuben seeks to save him from their conspiracy and restore him to his father; he persuades the brethren to cast Joseph into a pit; Midianites pass by, find Joseph, and kidnap him; Reuben returning is in despair at not finding the child; the brethren report his death.

37:5-18a (exc. 5b,8c, וַיִּסְפֹּר אֵתוֹ לְאֶחָיו in vs. 9,10a [LXX.] = R; vs. 12-14\*; מַעֲמֶק חֲבֹרָן in v. 14 = R or J) 19,20,22,23f\*,24,28\*,29f,31f\*,34f\*,36; also וַיִּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן in v. 21 (vs. 28c,35b = J; 31f part E, part J).<sup>54</sup>

18. Joseph is brought to Egypt and sold to Potiphar, Pharaoh's head sheriff, who entrusts him with the care of the prison; the dreams of Pharaoh's officers interpreted.

39:4 in part, 6,21 in part; 40:2,3a,4,5a,6-15a,16-23 (39:1 פֹּטִיפָר . . . . הַטִּבְחִים = R).<sup>55</sup>

19. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream, and is made ruler of Egypt.

Ch. 41 (exc. a few traces of J. in vs. 14,18-22(?),34, and one part of the following doublets: 30b = 31; 35b = 35a; 41,43b,44 = 40; 49 = 48; 55,56a = 54b).<sup>56</sup>

20. The sons of Jacob go to Egypt to buy food; Joseph meets them roughly and imprisons Simeon on pretence of their being spies; he demands that Benjamin be brought down; Reuben pledges himself for Benjamin's safety.

Ch. 42 (exc. 2a,4b,6, parts of 7, אָכַל in 10,27,28a\*, and 38 [= J] 28b belongs after v. 35).<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Well., 33:18\*,20 (v. 19\* = J) 35:1-8 (v. 2\* = J) 16-20 (exc. 19b,21,22a [= R(?)]). Kuen., 33:18-20\* (v. 18 = P<sup>1</sup> in part); 35:1-8 (exc. v. 5 = R) 16-20\* (21,22a = R [or J(?)]). Del., 33:20 (v. 18f = P<sup>1</sup>); 34:13,27-29; 35:1-8 (but see p. 419 seq.; vs. 16-20 = J; 21f(?)). Kitt. 33:19f in part; 35:1,3,7 (vs. 2 and 4 = E or R from P<sup>1</sup>) 16-20.

<sup>54</sup> Well. 37:2b-11 (אֶחָיו . . . . בְּנֵי אֶת-בְּנֵי in v. 2, and 10aa = R), 12-14, principally J; vs. 13b,14a = E, then vs. 18,22,23 in part, 24 in part, 28-30,36 and parts of 32,34,35. Kuen. 37:3-24\*, 25aa (exc. va, 18,21\* and fragments in 13f and 23 [= J]; v. 2 from אֶחָיו) on and vs. 4b,8c,9ab, בְּשֹׁכֶם in vs. 12,14b and רְאוּבֵן in v. 21 = R; 28abd,29-31,32 (exc. the first clause), 33ab,34,35a,36. Del. 37:5-11 (exc. 5b,8c and וַיִּסְפֹּר אֵתוֹ לְאֶחָיו in v. 9 [= R]), 19-25aa (v. 23 = J and E), v. 28abd,29f,31-35 (E and J), 36. Kitt. 37:2a and c (from יֹסֵף בְּצֶאֱן and from וַיָּבֵא on), 4b-10,11b,13b (from לָכֶּה on), 19f (exc. וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּאֶחָד הַבָּרוֹת), 22,23aba,24,25aa,28abb,29-31, parts of 32 and 33, v. 34, the last three words of 35, v. 36.

<sup>55</sup> Well. 39:6-19 (for the most part) and traces in 2,4f,9,23; 40:1a,2,3a,4,5a,6-23 (R in 39:1 as above). Kuen. chs. 40-42\* = E (nothing of E in ch. 39). Del. traces of E in 39:6, etc.; 40:2-23 (exc. 3b, last two clauses of 5 and 15b = R and v. 10 in part = J). Kitt. traces in 39:4 (אֶתוֹ וַיִּשְׁרַת אֶתוֹ) and v. 5f; 40:1aa,2,3a,4-22 (exc. interpolations by B<sup>4</sup> from J in 5 and 15).

<sup>56</sup> Well. ch. 41 (exc. traces of J in v. 30f,33-36, v. 48f, v. 54-57). Kuen. (see note preceding). Del. ch. 41 (exc. traces of J in vs. 35,41,49(?)). Kitt. 41:1-16,25-36 (exc. small interpolations from J in vs. 7,31,34f), 37-40,42,43a,45f(?),47f,51f,53-57 in part. N. B.—V. 46 is assigned by all the critics to P<sup>2</sup> (see N. 12) and Dillmann adds doubtfully to this v. 47(?),36(?),50 in part.

<sup>57</sup> Well. ch. 42 (exc. 4b, 6 in part, 27f and 38 [= J]). So Kuen. (see notes preceding). Del. ch. 42 (exc. touches from J. specifically 27,28a and v. 38). Kitt. 42:1,2b-4a,5,6c,7aa,7b-26,29-37.

21. Joseph reveals himself; his brethren return to fetch Jacob.

48:14\*, 23c; 45:1-27 (exc. 1a, 2, 4b, 5a, 10 in part, 13f = J; vs. 19-21\*).<sup>58</sup>

22. Jacob migrates to Egypt.

46:1 in part, 3f, 5 in part (1a, 5b = J or R); 47:12, parts of 13-26\* (13-26 = J on a basis of E, removed by R from after 41:55 and worked over).<sup>59</sup>

23. Jacob blesses Joseph and dies; death of Joseph.

48:1, 2a, 9a, 10b, 11f, 15f, 20 in part, 21f; 50:1-3(?), 15-26 (exc. v. 18 and parts of 21, 24 [= J]) (in ch. 48 E is expanded by R through the addition of 2b, 9b, 10a, 13f, 17-19, 20b from J).<sup>60</sup>

## II. Exodus.

1. Oppression in Egypt; birth and youth of Moses.

1:6, 8-12, 15-2:14 (exc. traces of J in 1:10, 12, 20; 2:14; also 1:21 and parts of 2:6f = J).<sup>61</sup>

2. Moses called at Horeb and commissioned to deliver Israel; revelation of the name Yahweh.

8:1-3\*, 4b-6, 9-16\*, 18-22\*.<sup>62</sup>

3. Moses returns to Egypt with the rod of God; the demand made of Pharaoh.

4:17, 18, 20b, 21, 28b, 31a; 5:3f, 6-8, 10, 11a, 12-19, 20f in part (4:22f = J, removed by R from before 10:28; 6:1 = R).<sup>63</sup>

4. The five plagues of Egypt: blood, lice, hail, locusts and darkness.

7:15 in part, 16 in part, 17b, 20 in part, 18 in part, 21a, 24; 8:16a, 21-24a; 9:22: 23a, 24a, 31f, 35; 10:8-13a, 14a, 15 in part, 20, 21-27.; (in 7:15 אשר נהפך לנחש = R).<sup>64</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Well. 48:14, 23c; 45:1-27 (exc. a trace in v. 1a, סכרתם אמי in v. 4f, v. 10, and 13f [= J]). Kuen. agrees with Well. and Dill. Del. 48:14, 23b and parts of ch. 45, especially 17-23, 7(?), (see p. 536). Kitt. 48:14, 23c, traces of E in 44:12 (2(?), 23(?), 26(?)), then 45:1b, 3, 4ab, 5ab, 5b-9, 11f, 15-27.

<sup>59</sup> Well. 46:1b, 2-5\* (1a, שראל in v. 2, parts of 3f [e. g. רר] = J); 47:12(?), 13-26(?) (perhaps derived from an account in J, parallel to ch. 41). Kuen. 46:1b-5\* (1a = R); 47:12-26(?) (reasons for assigning 47:12-29 to E are not conclusive). Del. 46:1-5; 47:12-26(?) (J and E inseparable). Kitt. 46:1b-5; (exc. שראל v. 2); 47:12, 13-26(?) (J and E inseparable).

<sup>60</sup> Well. 48 entire (exc. 3-7 = P<sup>3</sup>); 50:1-3(?), 15-26. Bud. (II.) E in ch. 48 = vs. 10-12, 15f, 20ab(?) 21f. Kuen. E = v. 1, 2, 8-12, 15, 16, 20-22 (vs. 13, 14, 17-19 = P<sup>3</sup>; in v. 22 read בן דרכי ולא בקשת' [xiv., p. 272]); 50:15-26. Del. 48:10-12, 15f, 20-22 (the rest, exc. vs. 3-7, = J; Kuenen's conjecture for v. 22 "very tempting"); 50:15-26 (traces of J, and on the other hand traces of E in vs. 1-10). Kitt. 48:1, 2a, 3, 9a, 10b, 11f, 20, 21f (8, 11, 21, in common with J); 50:1-3 (in common with J), 15-26 (exc. parts of J in v. 18, 21f, 24).

<sup>61</sup> Well. 1:11f, 15-21 (exc. 20b, 22 = J); 2:1-10 (exc. 6abba, 10b = J(?), 15a(?). Jül. (I.) 1:8-12, 15-22 (exc. v. 20 = R); 2:1-22 (exc. 18, 22 = R). Kuen. 1:8-12, 15-22 = E in general. For the rest the preceding authorities are cited. Kitt. 1:6, 8-12, 15-20a, 21; 2:1-6a, 7-10, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Well. 8; traces in 1-9 (e. g. v. 4 after the first clause and vs. 6 and 9), 10-15, 21f. Kuen. 8:1-15 (exc. v. 4a, 7f, 9a or b = J), 19f, 21f (apparently, but see J in loco. and Kuen., I., pp. 254-259 and 149). Jül. 8:1-6\* יהוה vs. 2 and 4 = R<sup>4</sup>, 9-14 (exc. ועתה in v. 9 [= J] which belongs before v. 16) and traces in 21f (v. 15, and 20-22 for the most part, = R<sup>4</sup>). Kitt. 8:1-3 (for the most part, 4b-6, 9-16a, and from v. 18, at least the first words after the *athnach*).

<sup>63</sup> Well., 4:19, 21-23\*, 20, last clause, (traces of R, perhaps in 5:4, 5, 8). Jül. 4:17, 18, 20b; 5:1, 2, 5-21 (4:21-23 and 6:1 = R<sup>4</sup>). Kuen., 4:17f, 20b = E, 21-23 = R<sup>4</sup>, (see I., pp. 150 and 256). Kitt., 4:17f, 20b-23; 5:1a, 3, 5-6:1. N. B.—In 5:11a and 20 read וקני instead of אורן. So all the critics.

<sup>64</sup> Well. 7:15d, 17ba, 20 (from.... ורר on) 21a, 24; 9:22 (+ the words והכרד.... ואש from v. 24,



9. The golden calf; departure from Horeb; the tent of meeting.

31:18b; 32:15 in part, 16-19aa,25-29; 33:1-5 in part (in v. 5 the beginning, to **ישראל**, then **עריכם מעליכם**) 6\*...7-11.<sup>69</sup>

### III. Numbers.

1. The departure from Horeb, Taberah; the manna and the quails in Qibroth Taawah.

10:33a; 11:1-3,7-9,10ba,30-35.<sup>70</sup>

2. Miriam and Aaron rebel; arrival in Kadesh and sending of the spies.

12:1,2 in part, 3a,5 in part, 9-15 (mostly) (v. 16 = R); 13:17b in part, 18,20 in part, 23f,29-31,32 in part; 14:1f in part, 23 in part, 24,25b,39-41 in part, 44 in part (14:11-23 = R).<sup>71</sup>

3. Rebellion of Dathan and Abiram; the earth swallows them up.

Traces in 16:1-4 (e. g. 1b, and parts of 2,3f) in 12-15, (e. g. 14ab,15b = E, 14aa,15a = J) and in 25-34 (28f,32a = E 30f,33a = J).<sup>72</sup>

4. Death of Miriam; water from the rock in Kadesh; embassy to Edom.

20:1b,3a,4f,7,8 (first two words and ba) 9\*,10b\*,11 (v.9 = R) 14-19,21.<sup>73</sup>

the covenant, i. e. after Num. 32. After Ex. 20:17 followed 24:12-14\* (in v. 14 read **הָעָם** for **הַדֹּקֵנִים**, 18b (vs. 1f,9-11 = E<sup>2</sup>(?)) they are "prae-prophetic," i., p. 242). Kitt. 19:2b,3a,10,13-17,19; 20:1-10,12-17 (exc. a number of interpolations by R<sup>d</sup>, especially in 1-10,18-26; chs. 21 and 22; 23:1-7,20-22; 24:3-8,12-14 (**הָעָם**), 18b.

<sup>69</sup> Well., 31:18 in part; 32:1-6,15-21,35 (vs. 7-14,21-29,30-34 = R<sup>d</sup>); 33:1-6....(exc. parts of v. 1, v. 2 and v. 3 to the *athnach* [= J]) 7-11. Kuen., 31:18 in part; 32:1-6,15-20 (21-24(?)) fragments of 32:30-33-6; 33:7-11; 34:1,4,28b; (32:7-14,25-29 = E<sup>2</sup>); (so apparently in I. § 8, N. 13 and in XV.; but compare I. § 13, N. 20, p. 245, and N. 25, p. 251, where the indication seems to be that the above-cited passages, exc. 33:7-11, are secondary [32:7-14,25-29 tertiary] 24:1,2,9-11....33:7-11 would form thus the "original" element). Kitt., 31:18b; 32:15-20,25-29; 33:1 3a (exc. interpolations of R<sup>d</sup> 5-11.

N. B.—according to all the critics R has omitted between 33:6,(5) and 7, E's account of the construction and furnishing of the "Tent of Meeting" in favor of the much more detailed and elaborate story of P<sup>2</sup>; the purpose of the "stripping off of the ornaments" in E is held by all to have been the same as their contribution in P<sup>2</sup> (Ex. 35:4ff). Ex. 18, is held by Dill. and Kitt. to have stood originally after 33:11; the other critics also consider it misplaced; no trace of E or J is discovered by any of the critics in the group of priestly laws following, which occupies the rest of Exodus, Lev. and Num. 1-10.

<sup>70</sup> Well., 10:33a (**כִּי־שָׁלַחְתָּ** gloss(?)) 11:1-3 (perhaps E's, no sure indication of the source) vs. 7-9,18-23 (10ba) belong to a source resembling E, combined here with J. (14-17,24b-29 = E<sup>2</sup>). Kuen. 10:33a; 11:1-3; 10:33b-36 (11:14,16,17,24b-30 = E<sup>2</sup>, the Judean edition of E, and vs. 18-24a [31-33, in part] = R<sup>d</sup>). Kitt., 10:33-36; 11:1-3,7-9,10ba (**כִּי־שָׁלַחְתָּ** "וַיִּזְרַח אֵף" 30-34.

<sup>71</sup> Well., 12:1a,2-15 = E<sup>2</sup> (1b and 16 = R); 13:17b-24 (exc. v. 21) 27-33 (exc. v. 32) 14:3,4,8,9,11-25, 30-33,39-45 = JE; 13:19 = 13:20, v. 23 = v. 22; 14:11-24 = R<sup>d</sup>; 14:2a,3,30-33,25,39-45 = a second source; the other cases of reduplication are due to R<sup>d</sup>. Kuen., ch. 12 = E<sup>2</sup> (12:1 = R(?)); 13:17b-20,22-24,26b,27-31; 14:1b,2b,4,8,9 (11 25), 39-45 = E expanded and recast by Judean editor of E, especially vs. 11-25. Kitt., 12:1-15; 13:20,23f,26bb,30f,32c,33,...14:39-45.

<sup>72</sup> Well., 16 traces in 1f and vs. 3-5,15a,23f,27a,32,33b,34 (exc. **וַיִּזְרַח אֵף** in vs. 24 and 27 [-R]) belong to the "second source" (X) (28,29,31a = J or X; v. 26 [exc. **וַיִּזְרַח אֵף** הָעָרָה] = X) = R<sup>d</sup>; vs. 6f = R). Kuen., (I. p. 154 and XII) 16:1 (from **וַיִּזְרַח אֵף**) 12-14\*,15b,25,28,27b-32a, 33,34(?); no trace of J. Wellhausen's X = P<sup>2</sup>, and his P<sup>2</sup> = P<sup>2</sup>; (vs. 13,14,28ff recast by R<sup>d</sup>). Kitt., 16:1b,2aa,12-14,15b,25f,27b-31,34(?).

<sup>73</sup> Well., 20:1b,3a,4f,7-13 (8\*10\*) = X 14-21 = J. Kuen., a story of E's at the basis of 20:1-13 traceable in vs. 4,5,9 (at the end) 11 (at the end); with this P<sup>2</sup> was combined, but the whole

5. The brazen serpent; Israel in the border of Moab; conquest of the territory of Sihon.

21:4-9 (exc. מָהַר הָרַר in v. 4 = R) 12-18a,21-24 (LXX.) (18b-20 and 25-32\* = R, from another source [J(?)]; 33-35 has been imported by R<sup>d</sup> from Dt. 3:1-4).<sup>74</sup>

6. Balak and Balaam; the involuntary blessing of the prophet hired to curse.

22:2-21 (exc. 3a,4,5a,7a,17f and perhaps יוֹהֵבֵשׁ אֶת אֲתָנִי in v. 21 [= J]) 36-41; 23:1-26,27f in part(?); 24:25(?) (23:28[27]-30; 24:20-24 = R).<sup>75</sup>

7. The people sin at Baal-peor; Gad and Reuben receive their lot; the cities of Jair.

25:1a,3,5; 32:2a,3,16f (20f in part(?)), 24,34-38 (39,41f(?)).<sup>76</sup>

#### IV. Deuteronomy.

8. Directions for a sacrificial feast on Ebal; charge to Joshua; [the blessing of Moses].

27:5-7a (vs. 1-3,9f = D<sup>1</sup>,4,7b,8 = R<sup>d</sup>, 11-26 = R<sup>d</sup> and R); 31:14f (vs. 16-23; 32:1-44 = J) and ch. 33 (incorporated by E(?)).<sup>77</sup>

#### V. Joshua.

In this book the problem of critical analysis is greatly complicated by the introduction of a new element. P<sup>2</sup> has been extricated with comparative facility and unanimity. JE is still the main residuum, but according to all the critics, greatly expanded and worked over by R<sup>d</sup>. Dillmann supposes the author of Deuteronomy to have supplied to his code a historical appendix, which constitutes, therefore, an independent source, taken up by R<sup>d</sup> and combined with P<sup>2</sup> and

account has since been altered, obliterating the "sin" of Moses and Aaron, (cf. 20:24; 27:14 [Dt. 32:50]). Well. and Dill. concur, but Kuen. declines on this account a more detailed analysis; 20:14-21 = E. Kitt., 20:3-5,7-11,13 (many touches of P's language) 14-21.

<sup>74</sup> Well., 21:4b-9(?),12-20(?) (21-31 = J 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>). Kuen., 21:4b-9 (4a = R) 12-20 (a passage from an older *Itinerarium* incorporated by E and embellished by him with poetical citations in like manner to his own narrative), 21-31 (vs. 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>). Kitt., 21:4abb,5-9,12f (Dt. 10:6f) 14-20, 21-26 (so according to text I. p. 193: by a misprint the last item is missing from the note), 27-30 (31-35 = R<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>75</sup> Well., 22:2-21 (exc. וְיָקַן כִּי, [- R] and 3a,4 in part, 5 in part, and v. 18 [- J]) 35-41 (exc. 37 and 39 [- J]) and ch. 24 (exc. v. 1, and 20-24 [= R<sup>d</sup>]); in ch. 23f E of Dill. = J of Well. Kuen., 22:2-21 (exc. traces of R in v. 8f and 7) 35-41, chs. 23 and 24 (exc. 24:20-24 = E<sup>2</sup>; 22:21a,22-34 = J incorporated by E). Kitt., 22:2,3b,5-17 (exc. touches in v. 5 and 7) 19,21b,35b,36-38,40; 23:1-22,24f, (vs. 23 and 26ff = R<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>76</sup> Well., 25:1-5 = JE (E or J), 32:1-15, traces in 16-19 (ד'ש'ח' in v. 17), and 20-27 = X; 34-42 (exc. v. 40 = R) = JE (E, or J). Kuen., 25:1-5 = E (see XVIII); there are traces of E underlying the work of R<sup>d</sup> in 32:1-5,16-32; E = further, vs. 33-42 (exc. v. 33 and the references to Manasseh in 39-42 [- R<sup>d</sup>]). Kitt., 25:3,5; 32, parts of v. 1ff, v. 16f,24,34-38,39,41f; ("a bit of information given here by E by way of anticipation. From it arose later in P(?) and R, the idea that half Manasseh had already in Moses' time possessed a lot east of Jordan")

<sup>77</sup> Well., 31:14-23 and ch. 34 (exc. P<sup>2</sup> in 1a and 7a, [and J in 7b(?)] = JE (E(?) worked over by R<sup>d</sup>); Dt. 33 is an independent fragment. Kuen., (xii. and i. p. 125f) E = 27:5-7a (vs. 1-4,7b,8 = R<sup>d</sup>, v. 9f = D<sup>1</sup>, 11-13,14-26 = P<sup>2</sup>); 31:14f,23 (and traces in vs. 1-8 worked over by R<sup>d</sup>), (vs. 16-22 and 32:1-44 = R<sup>d</sup> or more properly = JE, distinguished by Kuen. from R<sup>d</sup>, among other reasons because the song and introduction, the latter written for the purpose of uniting the song to JE, from their matter and language must have preceded the amalgamation of JE and D: vs. 24-30 = R<sup>d</sup>; ch. 33 stands out of all connection and was perhaps taken up by R<sup>d</sup>); 34:1-12 (exc. P<sup>2</sup> in 1a, 8,9 and R<sup>d</sup> whose redaction extends throughout, as in the case of 31:1-8,14-23). Kitt., Dt. 31:14-23(?); 32:44; 33:1-29 (2-29 an older source incorporated by E; ch. 32:1-33 is not E's Song of Moses, but a more recent production substituted for it by R<sup>d</sup>); 34:10.

**JE.** The four documents, three of them already united by R, were amalgamated and worked over by him. Kuen., Well., Bud., Kitt. attribute these Deuteronomic additions to D<sup>2</sup> or R<sup>4</sup>, the writer who incorporated Deuteronomy with JE and provided it with a historical introduction and appendix. The result is, in the opinion of all, such an obliteration of the characteristics of J and E by R<sup>4</sup>, or so thorough an incorporation of them into D<sup>2</sup>, that they are only traceable with difficulty and in a few passages.

Dillmann assigns the following passage to JE in Josh. 1-12: Chs. 2-8:26 (27-30, 31b(?)); ch. 9 for the most part (9:3-9a, 11-15a, 16, 22f); 10:1-11, 16-27; 11:1, 5-9. From this must be subtracted a verse or two for P<sup>2</sup> (see P<sup>2</sup> below) and some minor contributions of D and R<sup>4</sup>.

Kuenen offers an analysis of the same chapters, with P<sup>2</sup> and D<sup>2</sup> completely removed, as follows: JE — 2:1-9, 12-24; 3:2, 4-6, 8-17; 4:12, 13(?), 15-18, 20; 5:1, 2 (recast by D<sup>2</sup>), 3, 8, 9, 13-27; 7:26; 8:2a, 8-23, 28, 29(?); 9:1-15a, 16, 22, 23, 26; 10:1-7, 9-24, 26, 27(?), 28-30; 11:1-9, 21-23a.

To this was added by D<sup>2</sup> or R<sup>4</sup> ch. 1 almost entire (merely a basis of JE); 2:10f; 3:3, 7; 4:14, 21-24; 5:2 (exc. שָׁמַר וְשָׁמַר = R), 4-7; 8:1, 2b, 27, 29(?)b, 30-35; 9:24f, 27b; 10:8, 25, 27(?), 40-42; 11:10-20, 23b; ch. 12 largely. P<sup>2</sup> has only a verse or two in ch. 4f.

The portions assigned to D by Dill. in Josh. 1-12 are as follows: In general chs. 1-3f; 5:1; 8:33, 34f; 10:12-14, 28-43; 11:10-23. From P<sup>2</sup> come only 3:4 in part(?); 4:13 in part, 15-17, 19; 5:10-12; 7:1, 18b, 25 in part; 9:15b, 17-21, 27 in part.

In chs. 13-24 P<sup>2</sup> predominates. Dill. assigns to it 13:15-19, 23-27a, 28, 29b, 32; 14:1-5; 15:1-12, 20-44, 48-52; 16:4 in part, 5-9; 17:1a, 3f, 7 in part, 9 in part, 10 in part; 18:1, 11a, 12-28; ch. 19 for the most part; 20:2f, 6 in part, 7-9; 21:1-40; 22:9f, 13-15, 19-21, 30f, 32a. This portion removed, the parts assignable to D according to Dill. are 13:1, 7; 18:10b; 21:41-22:6 and ch. 23. This element also being removed there remains for JE 14:6-15 in part; 15:13-19; 16:1-3, 10; 17:1-18 in part; 18:2-10, 11b; traces in ch. 19 (specifically 19:49f); much of ch. 22 and ch. 24 for the most part.

Of elements recognizable as derived from J or E Kuenen finds in the second part of Joshua but two passages, 17:14-18 = J and ch. 24\* = E. Beside these 18:2-6, 8-10 and 18:1-7; 15:13-19 may be reckoned to JE in the broader sense. D<sup>2</sup> or R<sup>4</sup> added 13:8-12, 14; 14:6-15; 18:7; 21:41-43; 22:3, 4(?) 5 (or 22:1-6); ch. 23; 24:1b, 13, 31, and parts of 2, 4, 7, 16, 17b, 24.

Well. has traced a primary and a secondary element in the historical chapters of Josh. 1-12, but does not connect them with J or E except in a few verses of ch. 9 [= J]. The Deuteronomic elements of Joshua are, according to him, as follows: Ch. 1; 2:9-11; 3:2-4, 6-8, 9, 15f in part; 4:6, 7(?), 12-14, 20-24; 5:1, 4-7; 6:1f, 27 (ch. 7 = JE [R<sup>4</sup>]); 8:1, 29 in part, 30-35; 9:1f, 24f; 10:1 in part, 8, 27, 28-43; 11:2f, 10-15, 16-20 (21-23 still later); ch. 12; 13:1-14 (exc. perhaps only vs. 1 and 7; vs. 15-33 = P<sup>2</sup>); 14:6-15; 18:7; 21:41-43; 22:1-6; ch. 23; 24:1 in part, 13, 31. These removed, we have still to eliminate JE's own handiwork (of which ch. 7 and 10:16-26 are examples) from the "prophetic" nucleus, to reach the sources themselves. The analysis of Joshua, therefore, after the removal of P<sup>2</sup>, resolves itself into a search for stray fragments of J and E in the mass  $\frac{JE D^2}{R^4}$ .

In this search Budde, III., is invaluable, though his investigation is confined to passages which can be connected with Judg. 1 [= J] and hence can only be cited in a few instances. On the evidence of ch. 24 [= E] Bud. (Kuen.?) reaches the conclusion that E's story of the conquest must have been quite different from that of either of the sources discovered by Well. in chs. 1-12, but finds evidence in Judg. 1 for identifying the primary element with J<sup>1</sup> and the secondary with J<sup>2</sup>.

In the notes on Joshua this characteristic of the investigation must be borne in mind and reference made to the lists already given for passages outside of the sources themselves.

1. Crossing the Jordan; the people circumcised by Joshua at Gilgal; the "rolling away" of the reproach of Egypt.

8:12; 4:1a, 4f, 7b, 9; 5:2f (exc. שָׁמַר and שָׁמַר in v. 2 [= R<sup>4</sup>]), 8f (vs. 4-7 = R<sup>4</sup>, cf. LXX.).<sup>78</sup>

2. The capture of Jericho.

(5:13-15 = E or J) 6:1 (E or J), 4 in part\*, 5f, 7b, 8f\*, 13\*, 15\*, 16a (17-19 = E or

<sup>78</sup> Well., ch. 1 = D<sup>2</sup>; ch. 2 = JE (R<sup>4</sup> on a basis of J or E); "secondary element" in ch. 3 = vs. 12, 15a, 16a; 4:4-7, 9-11a, 15-18; 5:2f (exc. שָׁמַר and שָׁמַר), 8f (4:11b-14, 20-24; 5:4-7 = R<sup>4</sup>; 4:19 = P<sup>2</sup>); Kuen. distinguishes the same verses as the "secondary element." Bud. considers this secondary element J<sup>2</sup>, not E. Kitt., 3:1aoc, 9, 12; 4:5, 7b; 8:15a (misplaced by R<sup>4</sup>; read מִסְכְּלוֹת (וּרְגִלֵּיהֶם) 5:9 (4:2, 4; 5:4-7 = R<sup>4</sup>; 3:2-4, 6-8 and 4:10-5:1 for the most part = D<sup>2</sup>; 4:9, 15-17, 19 = P<sup>2</sup>).



J), 20b (21-25 = E or J) (touches in 3f,11,14f = R; vs. 2,17b,18 and 27 and the continued blowing of trumpets, 4,8f,18 = R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>79</sup>

3. The capture of Ai and covenant with the Gibeonites.

8:10-12,14 in part, 16 in part, 17 in part, 18,20b,26,30,31b; 9:3-27 (exc. 6b,7,9 in part, 10,14f,16 in part, 17-21,24f,27). (Ch. 7 for the most part = J. 8:1f,7b,8a, 22b,27-29 and traces in 3,11,15,21,24; also 9:1f,9 in part, 10,24f,27 in part = R<sup>d</sup>; 8:18 and כְּנָטוֹת יָדוּ in v. 19 = R).<sup>80</sup>

4. The battle of Gibeon.

10:1-11,16-27 (vs. 12-14,15,28-43 = D; vs. 8 and 25 and 1,2,6,7,19,24,26f in part = R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>81</sup>

5. Settlement in the land, and inheritances of the tribes; Caleb receives Hebron; the house of Joseph obtain a double portion; they invade Gilead.

14:6-15<sup>\*</sup>; 15:13(?); 16:1-3(?); one of the two stories in 17:14-18 (14f = 16:14 in part 17f); 19:49f; 22:8<sup>\*</sup>.<sup>82</sup>

6. Conclusion of E's history; Joshua's charge to the people at Shechem; the history briefly reviewed and Israel pledged to the service of Yahweh; Joshua's death and burial.

Ch. 24 (exc. 1f in part, 6-8 in part, 17-19 in part, 10f in part, 13 in part, 26a, 31 = R and R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Well., 5:13-15, "like JE;" 6:3-5 in part, 6-9<sup>\*</sup> (8a,9 in part = R), 12,13<sup>\*</sup>, שָׁכַן פְּעֻכִּים in v. 15 (15b = gloss), 16a and 20 (from יָדוּ כְּשִׁמְעוֹ on) = No. 2 (E) (6:1,2,22,23,25,27 = R<sup>d</sup>). Kuen., the story characterized by priests and ark, perhaps E's, but see L., p. 158f, and above, p. 233, also note on J *in loco*. Kitt., 5:13-15 = E; 6:4a,b,5a,b,6,7-9,12f,16a,20b (13ab and the last three words of the verse = R).

<sup>80</sup> Well., ch. 7 = R<sup>d</sup>; ch. 8 (exc. 8a,12f,14b,18,20, last clause, 26 [= No. 1]; v. 1,29 in part [= R<sup>d</sup>]; and vs. 30-35 [= D<sup>s</sup>]) belongs to the "secondary element;" No. 2 includes in ch. 9 vs. 3,8-11,15a<sup>\*</sup>, 16,22<sup>\*</sup>,26,27<sup>\*</sup>. An affinity is pointed out between No. 1 in this story and E, but the two are not identified; much less is No. 1 identified with J, though the identity is not formally denied (vs. 15c,17-21 = P<sup>s</sup>; vs. 1,2,24f = D<sup>s</sup>). Kuen. finds the same "fundamental lines" in ch. 8 as Well., but thinks they may very well have been J's; for ch. 9 see J, note *in loco*. Bud., III., similarly to Well. exc. 8:18a [= D<sup>s</sup>]. Kitt., 8:10-12a (12b = gloss; v. 13 = R<sup>d</sup>); 14a,b,d,16b,17a.... 24ab,18,26, possibly more; then traces of E underlying v. 30,31b (the sacrificial feast on Ebal; the "prophetic" element in ch. 9 = J).

<sup>81</sup> Well., 10:1-15 = JE (exc. v. 8 and traces in v. 1 [= R<sup>d</sup>]), 16-27 secondary, 28-43 tertiary; 11:1-9 = JE; 10-23 and ch. 12 = D<sup>s</sup>. Kuen. (see p. 233). Kitt., 10:1-15 = E (exc. v. 12a from לִירוּחָה, 13b from וַיַּעֲמֹךְ and 14 = D<sup>s</sup>); vs. 16-27 = R<sup>d</sup> on a basis of J: 23-43 = R<sup>d</sup>. Bud. assigns the nucleus of ch. 10 to J.

<sup>82</sup> Well., in the latter part of Joshua, ch. 24 and 22:8 excepted, no further attempt is made to separate the threads of JE, the "prophetic" element = 11:1-9 (exc. v. 2f = R<sup>d</sup>); 15:4c,12b,13-19; 16:1-3,9f; 17:5,8f,10b,11-18; 18:2-10 (v. 7<sup>\*</sup>); 19:15,24b,25a,28,30,35-38,49f; 21:43-45; 22:8 = J or E (vs. 1-6 = D<sup>s</sup>; v. 7a = gloss, 7b = R<sup>d</sup>); chap. 23 = D<sup>s</sup>. Kuen. finds in chs. 13-23 only 17:14-18 and 18:2-6,8-10 remaining of the "prophetic" account of the partition of the land. The former passage of these, however, stands upon the same footing as the more antique fragments in chs. 1-12, and may therefore be assigned to J; 18:2-6,8-10 on the other hand was written by JE himself, v. 7 = R<sup>d</sup>; to this nucleus was added before the time of P<sup>s</sup>, hence by R<sup>d</sup>, 18:1b-6,8-12,14,33; 14:6-15; 18:7; 21:41-43; 22:4,5; 23 entire; 24:1,9,13,31. Kitt., 11:1-9 = R<sup>d</sup> working over a section of J or E. From v. 10 to the end of ch. 12 = D<sup>s</sup>. E reappears only with 15:13-19 with any degree of probability. Then 16:1-3; 17:14 (read יוֹסֵף בֵּית, 15 (exc. הַפְּרוֹזִי וְהַרְפָּאִים = gloss, see LXX. Insert after הַיַּעֲרִירוֹת) וְגִלְעָד, 18:2-6,8-10.

<sup>83</sup> So all the critics, with slight divergence as to the portions due to R. Well. (exc. וַיִּקְרָא.... אותם and וַאֲשֶׁלְחָה.... הַצִּרְעָה in v. 11 = R<sup>d</sup>; the list of tribes in v. 11 = R<sup>d</sup>; וַאֲשֶׁלְחָה.... הַצִּרְעָה in v. 12 and read וַאֲנִי וְשָׁרָה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה, of LXX.; v. 13 = R<sup>d</sup>; כֹּל־הָעַמִּים וְאֵת in v. 18, and vs. 19b,26a,31). Kuen. (exc. 1,9,13,31 = R<sup>d</sup>). Kitt., "stark überarbeitet."

## I. Genesis.

6:1-8 (exc. **וְגַם אַחֲרֵי-כֵן** v. 4, **מֵאֲדָם... הַשָּׁמַיִם** and **בְּרֵאתִי** in v. 7 = R); J rests in 6:1-4, as also in 4:17-24, upon an older source, possibly E.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Del., *id.* (J on the basis of an older source). Well., 6:1-4 (exc. 'J) D1) = J(?) ; vs. 5-8 = J<sub>s</sub>. Kuen., 6:1-4<sup>a</sup>; 10:9(?) = J<sub>1</sub>; vs. 5-8<sup>a</sup> = J<sub>s</sub>. Bud., 6:1f.4<sup>a</sup>; 10:9 = J<sub>1</sub>; 6:5-8<sup>a</sup> = J<sub>s</sub>. (In v.3 translate, "And

4. The deluge of forty days; rescue of Noah and his family in the ark; sacrifice of Noah and promise of Yahweh.

7:1f,8 in part, 4f,7\*,10,12,16b,17,22\*,23\*; 8:2b,8a,6-12,18b,20-22 (R = 7:8a,7 in part, 8f, 22f in part).<sup>88</sup>

5. The peopling of the earth from the sons of Noah; [Noah's vine culture and prophetic song concerning Shem, Japheth and Canaan].

9:20-27,18f; 10:8,10-12,18-19,21,25-30 (9:20-27 is from a special source. 10:9,24 and perhaps 14 in part and **וְאֶדְמָה וְעֵבֶר** in v. 19 = R).<sup>89</sup>

6. The tower of Babel and the dispersion; Abram and his kindred.

11:1-9,28b-30 (exc. **בְּאֹר כְּשָׂרִים** = R).<sup>90</sup>

7. Abram called from his home; his journey with Lot, halting at Shechem and Bethel; separation from Lot and settlement at Mamre.

12:1-4a,6-9; 13:2,5,7-11a,12, exc. last clause, 13-18 (13:8f and **וְלֹט עָמוּ** in v. 1 = R).<sup>91</sup>

8. Yahweh's covenant with Abram.

Traces in ch. 15 worked over by R; specifically, v. 4,9-18\* (exc. 12-16 = R); R = v. 7f; R<sup>4</sup>(?) = vs. (16) 19-21.<sup>92</sup>

9. The birth of Ishmael.

16:2,4-14; 25:18b.<sup>93</sup>

10. Visit of three heavenly ones to Abram at Mamre; promise of Isaac; punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah; origin of Moab and Ammon.

18:1-19:38 (exc. 19:29 = P<sup>2</sup>).<sup>94</sup>

Yahweh said, My spirit [breath] shall not prevail in man forever. In their going astray he is flesh; therefore shall his days be an hundred and twenty years." Insert after 3:21. In v. 4 read: **וְהָיָה כְּאִשֶּׁר יֵאָמַר בְּנֵי-הָאָדָם... וְיִלְדוּ לָהֶם [וְכֵן] הָיוּ הַנְּפִלִים כְּאִשֶּׁר בְּיָמֵינוּ הַחַסְדִּים-הַגְּבוּרִים יִהְיוּ:** (ואחרי כאלה נמרד) 10:10. הוא היה ו'....

<sup>88</sup> Well., Bud., Kuen., *id.* = J<sup>1</sup> (exc. Well. 7:6 = R, but 8a,22f = J; Bud., Kuen., 7:17a = R). Del. *id.*

<sup>89</sup> Well., Bud., Kuen., 9:20-27 (exc. **וְהָיוּ מִן הָאֲדָמִי** in v. 23 = R) = J<sup>1</sup>; 18a,19; 10:10-12,13-15,18b,19,21 (exc. **כָּל בְּנֵי** = R); 25-30 = J<sup>2</sup>; 9:18b; 10:24 = R; 10:16f,18b = R<sup>4</sup>. Bud., Kuen.(?), 10:9 = also J<sup>1</sup>. (In 9:26 read **שָׁם יְהוָה לִפְתּוֹת** and in v. 27 **יְהוָה לִפְתּוֹת** Bud.). Del., 9:20-27,18f; 10:8,10-12,13-19,21,25-30 = J; 10:24,9(?) = R. Kitt., *id.* (in ch. 10, with which his analysis begins).

<sup>90</sup> Well., 11:1-9,29. Bud., 11:1-9,28-30 (exc. **בְּאֹר כְּ** = J<sup>1</sup>). Kuen., 11:1-9,28-30 (exc. **בְּאֹר כְּ** = R). Del., Kitt., 11:1-9,28-30.

<sup>91</sup> Well. and Kuen., 12:1-4a,6-8 (10-20 = J<sup>2</sup>; 12:9; 13:1,3,4 = R<sup>4</sup>); 13:2,5,7-11a,12 exc. last clause, 13,18 (14-17 = R<sup>4</sup>). Bud., 12:10-20 = J<sup>1</sup>. Del., 12:1-4a,6-8; 13:2,5,7-11a,12 exc. last clause, 13-18; 12:10-20 (v. 9 = R); 13:1 (exc. **וְלֹט עָמוּ** = R), 3b (8a = P<sup>2</sup>), 4 = J; also ch. 14 = J, though taken from an ancient source. Kitt., 12:1-4a,6-8 (exc. perhaps 6b = R, and, possibly, traces of E; v. 9 = E or R); 13:2,5,7-11a,12 exc. last clause, 13-18; 12:10-20; 13:1 (exc. **וְלֹט עָמוּ**).

<sup>92</sup> Well., vs. 8-12,17f; R = vs. 7f,12-16; R<sup>4</sup> = vs. 19-21. Kuen., two accounts, one of doubtful origin, the other J's; the whole worked over by R, a) an account traceable in vs. 2-4\* (5,6 = R<sup>4</sup>), b) another story in v. 1(?) 7\*,8-12,17f (13-16,19-21 = R<sup>4</sup> and R(?)). Bud., 1,2a,3b,4,6-11,17,18; R = 12-16,19-21. Del., ch. 15 = J, exc. vs. 2 and 16 = E; vs. 8-21 have been taken by J from E and worked over. Kitt., J<sup>1</sup> = 15:1,3f,6 (vs. 1 and 6 common to E and J); J<sup>2</sup> = vs. 7-18 (exc. parts of E in vs. 9, 12 [14 P(?) and perhaps 18]).

<sup>93</sup> Well., 16:1,2,4-8,11-14; 25:18; (16:8-10 = R<sup>4</sup>[JE]). Bud., 16:1 = P<sup>1</sup>. Kuen., Kitt., 16:2,4-8,11-14, and 25:18; (16:8-10 = R<sup>4</sup>[JE]). Del., 16:1,2,4-14 (25:18 = J belonging after 25:6).

<sup>94</sup> Del., Kitt., *id.*; Well., Kuen., *id.* (exc. also 18:17-19,22b-38a = R<sup>4</sup>, and [Well.] the alteration, by R<sup>4</sup>, of **אִשֶּׁר**; 18:2,16,22a; and **יְהוָה** in 19:1,10,13, etc., to plurals, with the corresponding changes elsewhere). Well. reads in 18:1 **כְּ**, cf. v. 4.

11. Birth of Isaac; [Abram's sojourn with the Philistines(?); news of the descendants of Nahor; Abram sets his house in order; the steward sent to the Nahorites to bring a wife for Isaac.

21:1a,2a,7,32b-34; 22:20-24; 25:5,11b,18a; ch. 24 (exc. v. 62 and שרה אמו in v. 67a, and v. 67b = R).<sup>95</sup>

12. Isaac in Gerar; [Abimelech takes Rebekah]; the wells of the *Negeb*; controversy with the Philistines and covenant at Beersheba; birth and youth of Esau and Jacob.

26:1b, first three words of v. 2, 3a,7-14,16f,19-33; (the first three words of v. 1, v. 2 from ויאמר on, v. 6 = E; 3b-5 = R<sup>d</sup>; מלכר.... אנרהם in 1a, and vs. 15 and 18 = harmonistic interpolations of R); 25:21-34 (exc. 26c = P<sup>2</sup> and traces of E in vs. 25 and 27).<sup>96</sup>

13. The blessing of Isaac; Jacob supplants Esau.

27:1-45 = JE and is composite, but only partially separable into J and E; J = vs. (7),15,(20),24-27,30a (to יעקב את),35-38 and 44b or 45aa and other portions not extricable, cf. E *supra*).<sup>97</sup>

14. Jacob's flight to Haran; [the theophany at Bethel;] his marriages and service with Laban.

28:10,13-16,19a,(21b),(19b,21b = R); 29:2-15a,26,31-35; 30:3b,4f,7f (4a and 9b R(?)),9-16,20b,22c,24b (v. 21 = R or J; 22aa = P<sup>2</sup>(?)),25-43 (exc. 26,28 = E).<sup>98</sup>

15. Jacob's return from Aram-Naharaim; pursuit of Laban; covenant on Mt. Gilead.

31:1,3,21 in part, 25,27\*,46\*,48\*-50 (46b,48a = R, from J elsewhere; v. 47 gloss, or perhaps from E elsewhere).<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Well., ch. 24 and 25:1-6,11b (31:1 = R; vs. 32b and 34 = R<sup>d</sup>; 22:20-24 = E; after 24:62 followed originally the notice of Abram's death, omitted by R; in 24:67, *dele* שרה אמו and read in 67b ויבן. Bud., 21:1a,2a,7,6b, then immediately 22:20-24. Kuen., 21:1\*,2a (exc. לוקני = R) = P<sup>2</sup>; 6(7),7(7) = E; 32-34 = R<sup>d</sup>(?) (or J(?)); J = 22:20-24; ch. 24 (on v. 62 and 67 in agreement with Well.); 25:1-6,11b. Del., 21:1 = R; 6f = E; J = vs. 32-34; traces in ch. 22:1-19, specifically vs. 15-18 and parts of vs. 2,11,14; then 22:20-24; ch. 24 (exc. v. 67b and 'מ' ש' in 67a); 25:1-6,18,11b. Kitt., 21:1a, 7,6b,33 (22:2,11,14 [18] = J or R); 22:20-24; 25:1-6,11b; ch. 24 (v. 67 with Well.).

<sup>96</sup> Well., 26:1-33 (exc. וי' מלכר v. 1a, vs. 15,18 = R<sup>d</sup> [JE] and v. 2-5 = R<sup>d</sup>); then 25:21-23 (24-26ab = E(7)),27-34. Bud., 25:21-34 (exc. 26c) = J. Kuen., 26:1-33 (exc. 1a,3b-5 = R<sup>d</sup>, and 15,18 = R<sup>d</sup> [JE]). Then 25:21-34 (exc. 26c). Del., 26:1-33\*, worked over by R, expanded by D<sup>2</sup>(R<sup>d</sup>) in vs. 2-5 and supplemented by R from E in vs. 6-33, specifically in vs. 6,26 and 32. Then 25:21-23 (24-26ab,27-34 = J or E). Kitt., 26: first three words of v. 1, v. 2, 12-17 (exc. v. 15), 19-22 (vs. 7f,26,28-33 = R from E(?); vs. 15 and 18 = R); 25:21-24,27-34 (vs. 24,27f also in E).

<sup>97</sup> Well., J apparent in v. 7,20, and 24-27,30a,33f. Del., *id.* (+ a trace in 27:46(?)). Kuen., composite, but the elements of J and E cannot be determined with certainty. Kitt., J traceable in 7,15 in part, 20,24-27,29b,30a,35-38,45.

<sup>98</sup> Well., 28:13-16,19a (19b,21b = R<sup>d</sup>); 29:26,31-35; 30:9-16,20b,24,25-43 (exc. fragments in 25-30, and vs. 32-34 = E and perhaps 40a exc. the first three words, and ורצאן אל-המקלות in v. 39; לשותות.... בשקותות in v. 38 = gloss). Kuen., 28:13-16,21b = R<sup>d</sup>; 19b = R; no detailed analysis of ch. 29f. Del., 28:10 = R; 13-16, (19a),21b; 29:1-15a,31-35; analysis of 30:1-24 omitted, but "the parts derived from E and J respectively are distinguishable by the use of the divine names;" vs. 25-43 = J, comprising fragments of R. Kitt., 28:10,(11a, in sense at least common to E and J), 13-16,19a; 29:2-15a,26,31-35; 30:3b-5,7,9-16,20b,24b,25,27,29-43.

<sup>99</sup> Well., 31:1,3,25a,27,38-40,46,48-50 (עקב in v. 46, v. 47,48b,49 [exc. והמלפפה] and 50 [from אין on] = R). Kuen., in practical agreement with Dill. and Well. Del., 31:1-3,25 and traces in 26f,46,

16. The story of Mahanalm and Peniel; [Jacob wrestles with a divine being and receives a blessing and a new name;] crosses the Jabbok at Peniel and meets Esau in peace.

32:4-14a,23; 33:1-16 (exc. 4\*,5,11a = E; 32:23 = R).<sup>100</sup>

17. Succoth; Shechem and the rape of Dinah; [Israel's departure; immorality of Reuben; the descendants of Esau].

33:17,18b; 34:2b,3,5,7,11-18,19,25\*,26,30f; 35:21(?); 36:2f,10,18,16-18,20-28(?) (these parts of ch. 36 removed by R from before 32:4. 33:18a; 34:1a,2a,4,6,8-10,15 (14)-17,20-24 = P<sup>2</sup>; v. 25b; 35:21(?),22a; 36:1,2a(?) and other portions of ch. 36 = R).<sup>101</sup>

18. Joseph Israel's favorite; his brethren hate him and conspire to kill him; Judah interposes and, as a caravan of Ishmaelites passes by, suggests that they sell him; the Ishmaelites bring Joseph to Egypt.

37:2b,3f,18b,21\*,23 and 24 in part, 25-27,28 in part, 31f in part, 33,34f in part (cf. E's part *supra*).<sup>102</sup>

19. The origin of Judah's families; his Canaanite affinities and wicked sons. Ch. 38.<sup>103</sup>

20. Joseph is bought of the Ishmaelites by "an Egyptian;" he is slandered by his master's wife and imprisoned.

39:1 (exc. the portion identical with 37:36 [= R from E]), 2f, 4 in part, 5f,7-20,21 in part, 22f.<sup>104</sup>

21. Joseph made lord of Egypt; the famine.

40:1,3b,5b,15b; and traces in 41:14,18-22(?), v. 34,30b or 31,35b or 35a,41,43b, 44 or v. 40,49 or 48, 55,56a or 54b.<sup>105</sup>

48 (47 = E), 49 (exc. *והמספר אשר אמר* = R), 54. Kitt., 31:1,3,26,27,51f (exc. *והמספר* = a harmonistic gloss).

<sup>100</sup> Well., 32:4-9,14a (10-13 = R<sup>4</sup>),23-33; 33:1-16 (exc. 4\*,5,8-11 = E). Kuen., 32:4-9,14a (10-13 = R<sup>4</sup>),25-33 (23f unmentioned); 33:1-16 (exc. some details including vs. 5,10,11 = E). Del., 32:2 (*etc*?) - 14a,23; 33:1-16. Kitt., 32:5-14a,23,25-33 (v. 30f perhaps = R).

<sup>101</sup> Well., 33:17,19\*; 34:3,7 in part, 11f,19,25f,30f (the rest of ch. 34 is of doubtful origin, but "auf keinen Fall" P<sup>2</sup>); 35:31-39 = J or E, the rest of ch. 35 (exc. P<sup>2</sup>, vs. 6-8,40-43) drawn by R from other sources (35:21f = R(?)). Kuen., 33:17; 34, traces including vs. 3,7 in part, 11f,19,25\*,26,30,31 (vs. 1 in part, 2 in part, 4-6,8-10,13 and 14 in part, 15-17,20-24,25 in part, 27-29 = R, [see XIV.]); 35: 22a(?) (preferably 35:21f = R; the greater part of ch. 36 is of doubtful origin). Del., 33:17; 34:3, 5,7,11f (13 = E), 19,25f,30f (vs. 27-29 = E; rest of chapter = P<sup>2</sup>); 35:16-20 (35:21f; 36:2-5 = R). Kitt., 33:17 (parts of 19f(?)); 34:1b,2b,3,5,7,11-13,14,19,25f,30f; 35:21f (possibly the basis of 36:1ff).

<sup>102</sup> Well., 37: traces of J in 2bff(?) (but *אמר בני* v. 2, and *ו'ספ* v. 10, more like R), vs. 12-24 (exc. *ו'אמר לו הנני* in v. 12b and v. 13a and *דבר*, vs. 13,22 and parts of 23f), 25 (exc. first clause = E), 26f, *כסף*.... *ו'סכרו* in v. 28,31-35 (exc. parts of 32,34,35 = E). Kuen., in practical agreement with the above, but without 2b (= R) and without 12-18. Del., 37:3f,12-18,23 in part, 25-27,28 in part, 31-35 (exc. traces of E in 31-35). Kitt., 37:2b,3,4a,11a,12,13a,14-18,21 (read *ו'סכרו*), 23b,25ab-27,28a,32f (for the most part), 35 (exc. last clause).

<sup>103</sup> *Id.*

<sup>104</sup> Well., 39:1-5,20-23 and traces in 6-19 (v. 10bb). Kuen., 1ba = R<sup>4</sup>, the rest = J<sup>1</sup> expanded and worked over by J<sup>2</sup>. Del., ch. 39 = J worked over by R (v. 1ba = R<sup>4</sup>). Kitt., 39:1abb,2f,4 (exc. *ו'ישרת*), 5b-23.

<sup>105</sup> Well., 40:1b,3b,5b and traces in 41:30f,33-36; vs. 43f, vs. 54-57. Kuen., see note on E in *loco*. Del., 40:1 and 10. Traces in 41:35,41(?)49; (40:3b,5b,15b = R). Kitt., 40:1 (exc. first four words) 3b, parts of v. 5,15; 41:7,31(?)34a(?),35a(?),41(?),43b(?),44(?),49(?),55(?) (cf. *Geschichte*, p. 131 and p. 143).

22. Joseph's brethren come to buy food; returning, at the lodging place, they find their money in their sacks; the food consumed, they make a second visit; Judah becomes surety for Benjamin.

42:2a,4b,6, parts of 7, אכל in v. 10,27,28a; 43:1-3; 42:38; 43:4-13,15-23ab, 24-34.<sup>106</sup>

23. Joseph's hospitality; the cup hidden in Benjamin's sack; the brethren brought back; Judah offers himself for Benjamin.

Ch. 44.<sup>107</sup>

24. Joseph reveals himself and sends for his father; Israel goes down to Egypt; is met by Joseph in Goshen; Joseph and five of his brethren petition Pharaoh for leave to occupy Goshen.

45:1a,2,4b,5a,10 in part, 13f,28; 46:28-47:5a,6b.<sup>108</sup>

25. [Joseph's administration in Egypt during the famine; Israel fed.]

47:12-26,27 in part.<sup>109</sup>

26. Jacob's charge to Joseph; [blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh]; blessing of all the sons; death and burial in Canaan; [Joseph's continued kindness].

47:29-31; 48:2b,9b,10a, 13f,17-19,20b; 49:1b-27 (incorporated), 33 in part; 50:(1-3(?)),4-11,14,(18a,21 in part, 24 in part(?)).<sup>110</sup>

## II. Exodus.

1. Israel in Egypt; birth and youth of Moses; his flight to Midian and marriage there; the theophany at Sinai; Moses commissioned to deliver Israel and equipped with signs for the people and for Pharaoh.

Traces in 1:10,12,20 v. 21; 2:6f in part, and a trace in v. 14; vs. 15-22; 3:8 in part, 4a,7f,16 in part, 17; 4:1-16 (in 2:18 insert חבב בן before רעואל).<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Well., 42:4b,6 in part 27f; 43:1-3; 42:38; 43:4-13,15-23ab,24-34. Kuen., *id.* (see E in *loco*). Del., 42:27,28a and other traces; for the rest *id.* Kitt., 42:2a,4b,6ab,7ab,27f,33; 43:1-13,15-23ab,24-34.

<sup>107</sup> *Id.* (Kitt. suggests a possible background of E in vs. 2,12,23,26.)

<sup>108</sup> Well., 45:1, מִכְרָתָם אֶתִּי in v. 4f, vs. 10,13f,28; 46:1,3f in part; 46:28-47:4,6b. Kuen., ch. 45 = E, exo. parts of vs. 4,5, etc. (28 not mentioned); 46:28-47:5a,6b. Del., ch. 45 (exo. 17-23 = E) with interpolations from E; 46:1,28-47:4,6b. Kitt. 45:1a,2,4c,5a,c,10,13f,28; 46:1a,(12b(?)19f(?))28-47:5a,6b.

<sup>109</sup> Well., Kuen., vs. 12-26 = E(?) or J(?). Del. and Kitt., J and E inseparably combined. V. 27 = J in part; Well., Kuen., Kitt., 27ab. Del. v. 27 = P<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> Well., 47:29-31; 49:1-27 (incorporated by J(?)); 50:1-3(?),4-11,14. Bud., 47:29-31; 48:1f,8f,13f, 17-19,20ab (אֱלֹהִים בֹּדֵה in v. 9 = R, or else read יהוה for אֱלֹהִים); 49:1b-23a, וְאִמְךָ אֶל־הַמִּטָּה in v. 33. No analysis further. Kuen., 47:29-31; 49:1b-23a, (incorporated by J(?) or J<sup>2</sup>); 50:1-3<sup>2</sup>,4,11,14. (Nothing of J in ch. 48). Del., 47:29-31; 48:1f,8f,13f,17-19; 49:2-27,33; 50:1-3 (in common with E(?)), 4-11 (traces of E also), 14. Also traces of J in 15-26, especially v. 19 (*sic*?). Kitt., 47:29-31; 48:2b,8-11a,13f,17-19,21a (in v. 8,11a,21a parts of E); 49:1-28 (J or incorporated by J); 50:1-3 (in common with E) 4-11, 14 and parts of 18,21f,24.

<sup>111</sup> Well., traces in 1:14; v. 20b,22; 2:6abba,10b,11-22 (exo. v. 15a = E(?)); 3:1-9 (exo. traces of E in 4, vs. 6,9)16-18 (19f = R<sup>4</sup>); 4:1-9,10-12(13-16 = R<sup>4</sup>). Jü1., no sure trace of J before 3:7f (יהוה) in vs. 2 and 4 = R<sup>4</sup> for אֱלֹהִים in v. 9, vs. 16-18 (vs. 15,19f = R<sup>4</sup>, 21f = R<sup>4</sup> or E enriched by R<sup>4</sup>); 4:1-12, (13-16 = R<sup>4</sup>). Kuen., "in Ex.1-11, the 'prophetic' narrative, in its present form, is due to JE, who did not simply interweave his documents in this case, but made their statements the groundwork of a narrative of his own, especially in chs. 4-11." Still J is traceable in distinction from E in 3:4a,7f, and 9a or 9b; 4:14-16 = R<sup>4</sup> (see r. p. 150). Kitt., 1:20b,22, and perhaps traces in v. 14; 2:6,11-14,16-23ab (23ab by the other critics is placed with LXX. before 4:19); 3:2 in part (specifically 2aa), 3,4a,7f (exo. 8bb), 16b-22 (exo. parts of this passage, especially in v. 18); 4:1-12 (13-16<sup>2</sup>?).

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**III. Numbers.**

1. Departure from Sinai; Hobab goes with Israel as guide; the Mosaic formula at the moving or resting of the ark; Kibhroth-hattaawah; Israel lusts for flesh; seventy elders appointed.

10:29-32....33b,35f; 11:4-6,10\* (exc. ויחר אף יהוה מאד = E), 11-29 (the two stories of the murmuring for flesh and the elders, not originally together, united by R).<sup>117</sup>

1. Departure from Sinai; Hobab goes with Israel as guide; the Mosaic formula at the moving or resting of the ark; Kibhroth-hattaawah; Israel lusts for flesh; seventy elders appointed.

2. [Rebellion of Miriam and Aaron; Kadesh; spies sent out; the people's murmuring and attack on Amalek.]

118 Well, 19:9a(?) (parts of 10f(?) 20-25 (exc. 23f = R<sup>d</sup>); 20:23-26; chs. 21-23 (exc. 20:23; 22:20-23, last clause of v. 24 and v. 30; 23:9b, 22b, 25a, 31b-33 = R<sup>d</sup>; 19:9b and 23:13 = R; 23:17-19 is borrowed from ch. 34:25ff; 23:4, 5, 8 = early interpolations; 24:3-8; 33:1f, 3a, 12, 14 (32:1-6, 15, 21, 35 = E. The rest of ch. 32 = E<sup>3</sup> and R<sup>d</sup>; 33:13, 15-23 = R<sup>d</sup>; 34:1-28 = an ancient version of the Ten Words incorporated by R<sup>d</sup> and interpolated by him as follows: v. 1 from כְּרָאשֵׁינִים כְּרָאשֵׁינִים in v. 4, vs. 6-9 and a great part of 10-13, v. 24. The other interpolations in 10-27 by which the original Ten Words, I. v. 14a, II. 17, III. 18a, IV. 19a, v. 21a, VI. 23, VII. 25a, VIII. 25b, IX. 26a, x. 26b have been expanded, are a part of the code as it was when incorporated. Jül. 19:9a, 11, (12, 13a = J or R<sup>d</sup>) 15, 16a, 18, 20-22, 25 (3b-8, 12?) 13a(?) 23f = R<sup>d</sup>; 9b = R. No further traces of J to the end of ch. 24, where Jül.'s treatise closes. The Book of the Covenant, 20:22-23:33 interpolations, especially in 23:20ff, excepted, is assigned by all the critics except Well. to E (see note *in loco*). Kuen. "It is doubtful whether J has contributed anything to the accounts of the Sinaitic legislation and the apostasy of the people, Ex. 19-24 and 32-34. Perhaps traces of J in 19:13b, 20:22-25; 33:1a, 2a, 15, 6, (see xv.). The original account in these chapters was E's and consisted of 19:10-19; 20:18-21, 1-17; 24:12-14 (v. 12b as in Dt. 5:27) 18b; 31:18 in part; 32:1-6, 15f in part, 17-20, (21-24(?)).... 33:7-11... 34:1, 4, 28b (in 34:1-4 read אֲרוֹן עֹשֶׂה לָךְ כְּרָאשֵׁינִים וְעֹשֶׂה לָךְ אֲרוֹן [שִׁטִּים] עֹשֶׂה then the rest of v. 1 and בְּתַת אֶל-הָאָרֶץ) then the carrying out of these instructions and v. 28b). The rest, so far as it belongs to E, i. e. chs. 21-23, 24:3-8 originally occupied the position of Deuteronomy. R<sup>d</sup> removed it hither, expanding and interpolating it, and inserted it by means of alterations in ch. 19f and of 34:6-9; 34:10-27 was originally an independent version of the Sinal covenant, with an introduction of its own in vs. 1-5. For E<sup>3</sup>, etc., see note to E *in loco*. Kitt., J = 19:(9a(?)) 11, 12, 18, 20f. Then one of the three אֶל-הָרֹדֶר (24:13-18, (15a(?)) then 34:28; 32:1-8 (1-4 = R<sup>d</sup>, 19, 20(?) 21, 24-30-34, (35 = R or R<sup>d</sup>). Traces in 33:3b\*f(?) and 12-23, especially vs. 19-23; (33:1-15 = E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>; 12-23 = R<sup>d</sup> [on a basis of J (?)]); 34:1-5, 10-17 (6-9 = R<sup>d</sup>. Kitt. thinks it not impossible that Well. may be right in seeing in 34:1-5 (exc. כְּרָאשֵׁינִים in vs. 1, 4 and 1b from אֲשֶׁר on ch. 19) the original covenant according to J. In that case it would follow immediately upon ch. 19 and afterward the Decalogue, 24:15a, etc.).

119 Well., 10:29-32, 33b-36; 11:1-3(?) 4-6, 10abb, 11-13, 23, 10ba, 30-35. Kuen., 10:29-32; 11:4-13, 15, 31-33 in part, 34\*, 35\* (11:18-24a, 31-33 mostly = R<sup>d</sup> [J E]). Kitt., 10:29-32 (then Ex. 16 in part); 11:4-6, 10-29\* (or 24-29 = R<sup>d</sup>).

118 Well., no trace of J in ch. 12; in ch. 13 J = 19 or 20, 22 or 23, 27-29; 14:1 in part, 4, 8f (11-24 = R<sup>d</sup> on a meagre basis of J). Kuen., no trace of J in chs. 12-14. Kitt., no traces of J in ch. 12; J in ch. 13f = vs. 17b-19, 22, 27, 28f; 14:1b, 3f, 8f, 30-33.



3. [Rebellion of Dathan and Abiram; Edom's opposition(?)].

16:1b,2-4 in part, 12-15 in part, 25-34 in part (see E *in loco*.); 20:20(?).<sup>119</sup>

4. Attack of the king of Arad (misplaced); [perhaps a fragment of a list of encampments; conquest of territory in Moab].

21:1-3,18b-20(?),25-32(?).<sup>120</sup>

5. Balak and Balaam; Israel blessed by the prophet of Yahweh.

22:3a,4,5a,7a,17f, יְיָ חִבֵּשׁ אֶת אֲרָנִי in v. 21(?),22-34,35a; 24:1-18 (19); (22:35b [= 21b]; 23:28[27]-30; 24:20[19]-24 = R).<sup>121</sup>

6. Trespass of Israel with the Moabite women; Gad and Reuben's settlement in the trans-Jordanic district (inheritance of the sons of Machir and Jair misplaced); warning to extirpate Canaanite idols.

25:1b,2,4 (32:5-13,20f in part, 23,25-27,31)\*; perhaps 32:39,41f; 33:52f,55f.<sup>122</sup>

#### IV. Deuteronomy.

1. [Warning to Israel by Moses before his death and song of Moses]; Moses' death.

31:14f (traces), 16-23; 32:1-44; 34:1b,4.<sup>123</sup>

#### V. Joshua.<sup>124</sup>

1. [Israel crosses the Jordan]; the monument in Gilgal of stones from Jordan; [appearance of the captain of Yahweh's host to Joshua].

4:3bc,6,7a,8,10\*,11\*,20\*; 5:13-15.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Well., 16:1f (traces), 12-14,15b,25,27b,30,31b,33a; 20:14-21. Kuen., no trace of J in ch. 16 or 20. Wellhausen's "second source" in ch. 16 = P<sub>2</sub>; his P<sub>2</sub> = P<sub>3</sub>. Kitt., no traces of J exc. 20:1abb misplaced.

<sup>120</sup> Well., 21:1-3 (misplaced), 4 (exc. first clause), 5-9(?),12-20(?),21-31 (32-35 = R<sup>4</sup>). Kuen., 21:1-3; (rest = E, exc. 32-35 = R<sup>4</sup>). Kitt., 21:1f,3; then 20:1abb.

<sup>121</sup> Well., 22:3a,4 in part, 5 in part, 15,21a,22-34,37,39; 23:1-22,24-26 = J (כִּי וְקָנִי in 22:4 and 7 = R; 23:23,27-24:1 = R<sup>4</sup>; 20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; in 22:5 read עָכֹן כִּי). Kuen., interpolations in 22:2-4 and כִּי וְקָנִי = R conforming to P<sub>2</sub>; 22:21a,22-34 = J incorp. by E; rest = E. Kitt., 22:3a,4 (or R from P), 5ab,7a,18,21a,22-35a; 24:2-19,25 (20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; last three words of 24:10 = R<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>122</sup> Well., 25:1-5 = J or E; 33:52f,55f = P<sub>1</sub> incorp. by P<sub>2</sub>; no further trace of J until Deut. 34. Kuen., 25:1-5 = E; no trace of J anywhere in these chapters (see xviii. and E, note *in loco*). Kitt., 25:1,2,4 (32:1b,2a,3,5-13,23,25-27)\*.

<sup>123</sup> Well., no trace of J exc. perhaps 34:7b; the rest, 31:14-23; 32:1-44 and ch. 34 = D<sup>3</sup> and E worked over by R<sup>4</sup>. Kuen., no trace of J (see E note *in loco*). Kitt., no trace of J, exc. 34:1abb, 5 (v. 4 = R<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>124</sup> For the general analysis of Joshua in Dill. and of the "prophetic element" in Kuen. and Well. see under E, p. 233.

<sup>125</sup> Well., ch. 1 = D<sup>3</sup>; "primary element" J(?) = ch. 2 worked over by R<sup>4</sup> (exc. Rahab's speech, vs. 9-11 = R<sup>4</sup> entire); then 3:1,5,9(?),10,11a (read אֲרִיִן דְּהוֹרָה as in v. 13), 13-15a (dele בְּרִית in vs. 14 and 17), 16f (exc. one-half of v. 16); 4:1,3,8 (v. 2 and the first three words of v. 3 = R<sup>4</sup> [JE]). Kuenen distinguishes "the story wherein the stones are piled up at Gilgal" from that of E concerning the "raising a heap of stones in the bed of the Jordan;" for the latter he specifies the constituent verses; the portions of the former (J) the reader may infer by subtracting E from JE, see I., p. 159 and above, notes to p. 233f. Kitt., ch. 1f = D<sup>3</sup>; fragments of his source in 1:1, 2,10,11; J is traceable in ch. 3f as follows: 1abb,5,10a (10b = D<sup>3</sup>), 11 (read דְּהוֹרָה instead of דְּהַבְרִית), 13f (dele דְּהַבְרִית), 15b,16f; 4:1,3 (from שָׁמָּה on), 6a,8,20\*(?); (3:2-4,6-8, and 4:10-5:1 mostly = D<sup>3</sup>; 4:9 15-17,19 = P<sup>2</sup>). Bud. makes the same analysis as Well. and brings evidence to identify Well.'s "primary element" with J<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. The capture of Jericho [and trespass and punishment of Achan].

6:3\*,7a,10,11\*,14,15a,16b,20aa, (8f,11,14f = R, 2,17b,18,27 and parts of 4,8f,13 = R<sup>d</sup>) ch. 7\* (exc. vs. 24f [= R<sup>d</sup>] and traces of R).<sup>126</sup>

## 3. The capture of Ai.

8:3-9,14 in part, 15f,17 in part, 19-22a,23-25; (8:1f,7b,8a,22b,27-29 and traces in vs. 3,11,15,21,24 = R<sup>d</sup>; v. 13, and כְּנָטוֹת יְרוּ in v. 19 = R).<sup>127</sup>

## 4. The covenant with the Gibeonites; Israel deceived; the Gibeonites enslaved.

9:6b,7,14,15aa, 16 in part (vs. 1f,9 in part, 10,24f,27 in part = R<sup>d</sup>).<sup>128</sup>

## 5. The occupation of the land; settlement of Caleb and Othniel; the Jebusites; Gezer; the cities which held out against Manasseh; the Danites capture Laish; traces of a description of the inheritances.

18:2-10,11b(?) (or = E; v. 7 = R<sup>d</sup>); 15:13\*,14-19; 15:63; 16:10; 17:12f; 19:47; the portions of chs. 16f and 19 excluded from P<sup>2</sup>.<sup>129</sup>

## 6. [Dismissal of Reuben and Gad]; a summary of the conquest of their several portions of territory by the tribes independently.

Irrecoverable traces of J underlying ch. 22. Jud. 1 for the most part.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Well., 6:3\*,4 in part, 7 in part(?), 10f\* (read וַיִּכְכּוּ 14,15a,16b,17a,19,20aa,21,24, (vs. 1f,8a,9aa and bb, 17b,18,22f,25-27 = R<sup>d</sup>) ch. 7 = R<sup>d</sup> (JE). Kuenen sanctions the analysis but gives no personal division. "The story in which the priests and the ark are not mentioned, but the people raise the war-cry and blow the trumpet, whereupon the walls fall, may very well be J's;" ch. 6f = JE. Kitt. 6:3,4ab,5bb,10f (read וַיִּכְכּוּ אֶת דָּעִי 14,15a,16b,20a,20bb, (from וַיִּעַל on) 20(?); ch. 7 - R<sup>d</sup> on a basis of J. Bud. adds to Well's J, v. 26.

<sup>127</sup> Well., "primary element" - 8:3a,12, 13,14b,18,20 in part, 26. Points of resemblance with E are noted by Well. This "primary element" Dill. assigns to E. Hence Well's and Bud.'s analysis corresponds with that of Dill. and Kitt. under the same heading in E. Kuen. thinks the "primary element" is not E's and may very well have been J's. Bud., 8:3a,12,13a perhaps traces in 14 and 20 and probably vs. 18b and 26 (exc. נָטָה בְּכִידוֹן אֲשֶׁר - R<sup>d</sup>). Kitt., 8:3-9,14acbb,15,16a,17b, 19f and from v. 22 the words וַיִּכּוּ אֶת הָעָם (rest of the verse = R<sup>d</sup>), 23,24acbb,25 (vs. 13,21,22a - R<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>128</sup> Well., 8:30-35 = R<sup>d</sup>; 9:6 (exc. וַיִּשְׁעוּ אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ and אֶלִּי וְאֶלִּי, 7,12-14 = J (9:1f,24f = R<sup>d</sup>). Kuenen recognizes "the remains of a narrative in which the negotiations with the Gibeonites were conducted by the 'men of Israel' and not Joshua." Kitt., 8:30-35 = R<sup>d</sup>; 9:1f = D<sup>2</sup>; J = 9:3-7 (exc. the words rejected by Well. in v. 6 and read the clause before *athnach* as in v. 11), 9 (vs. 8 and 10 = D<sup>2</sup>), 11-14,15ab,22f\*,26\* (15aa,24f and 27 = R<sup>d</sup>). Bud., 9:3-6 (exc. וַיִּשְׁעוּ אֶלִּי וְאֶלִּי in place of כְּאֵן רְחוּקָה בְּאֵן עֵבְרִיכִם אֲנַחְנוּ, 7 (Qerl), 9,11-13 (in v. 12 וַיִּדָּה without ו), 14 (insert after מַעֲרִים from v. 15a), 16,22f,26f (exc. first word of v. 26) (vs. 8,10,15a,24 = R<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>129</sup> Well. and Kuen., 18:2-10 (exc. v. 7 = R<sup>d</sup>) and 15:13-19 = JE. Well. also, 15:63; 16:1-3,9f; 17:10b-18; 19:47,49f and the fragments in 16f and 19 excluded from P<sup>2</sup> (see P<sup>2</sup> in loco); for Well. on ch. 10f see E, p. 233. Bud., 10:1-11,15 = J<sup>2</sup> (exc. v. 1ba and v. 8 = R<sup>d</sup>), 12-14 = J<sup>1</sup> (exc. R<sup>d</sup> in 12a and 14); 11:21-23a = R; 13:13 = J<sup>1</sup>; 14:6-15 = D<sup>2</sup>; 15:13-19,33\*; 16:10; 17:11-13, and vs. 14-18 = J<sup>1</sup>; 19:47a; (instead of v. a in Massoretic text supply from LXX. καὶ οὐκ ἐξέθλιψαν οἱ υἱοὶ Δὲν τὸν Ἀμορραῖον τὸν ἐλθόντα αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ φρενὶ καὶ οὐκ εἰων αὐτοῦς οἱ Ἀμορραῖοι καταβῆναι εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα καὶ ἐθλίψαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸ δριον τῆς μερίδος αὐτῶν.) 47b = J<sup>1</sup>. Kitt. 10:16-27 = J worked over by R<sup>d</sup>; vs. 23-43 = R<sup>d</sup>. In ch. 11 J or E underlies vs. 1-9. The rest of the chapter = D<sup>2</sup>. J is also the author of 17:16-18.

<sup>130</sup> Dill. alone finds any evidence of J in ch. 22. Bud. and Kitt. find Jud. 1:1-2:5 to be a mass of fragments from J worked over and incorporated by the redactor of Judges. Well. and Kuen. also recognize the relationship. Bud. and Kitt. restore the narrative of J in Judg. 1 as follows: vs. 1b-3,5-7,19,21,20, last clause of v. 10,11-17,36 (in v. 16 read instead of וַיִּעַל, וַיִּעַל; in v. 36 read instead of וַיִּמְכְּרוּ, וַיִּמְכְּרוּ; correct v. 21 according to Josh. 15:63),22-26 (in v. 22 for בֵּית read וַיִּבְנוּ and for וַיִּהְיוּ read וַיִּהְיוּ) and supplement the passage with Josh. 18:13,27f (v. 27 as in Josh. 17:12), 29 (supplement from Josh. 16:10),20-33,34 + Josh. 19:47a [LXX.], 35; 2:1a,5b. (Judg. 1:1a,4,8f,10ab,18; 2:1b-5a = R.)

[To be continued in October Number (1888).]

## SOME NOTES ON "THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SALMANESER II."

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Dr. Craig<sup>1</sup> has earned the gratitude of Assyriologists by furnishing them with a good text and an excellent translation of this highly important inscription. Thanks to the very careful study he has made of the original stone, he has succeeded in finding satisfactory readings for a considerable number of words hitherto regarded as illegible or obscure, and besides the numerous corrections he has to offer to the text as given in III Rawlinson, the conjectures which he proposes for the broken-off portions are valuable and in most cases entirely acceptable. Nor should mention of the commentary added by Dr. Craig be omitted, though one might have wished this part to have been more copious than it is.

The following miscellaneous notes, suggested by a study of Dr. Craig's work, may, perhaps, throw further light on some passages and otherwise be found of some value.

Col. I., 3. In view of the reading *tu-ku-um-tu* Col. II., 71, there seems to be no good reason why we should not read *tu ku um tu* here instead of *tu ku un tu*, as Dr. Craig proposes; all the more so as the reading with *n* is not found, as far as I am aware, in historical texts (at all events very rarely), but only in syllabaries. See Delitzsch to Lotz Tigl. Pil., p. 94.

Line 6. There are several examples of erasures in this inscription made by the scribe himself<sup>2</sup>, and I am therefore inclined to believe that the difficulty at the end of this line is to be explained on such grounds.

A comparison with I R. 36.1, where we have *ni-šit ênâ A-num* "darling of Anu," suggests that in this instance, too, the scribe, forgetting that he had already written *e-ni*, wrote or started to write *šI* with dual sign and then erased it. The faint traces, still to be seen, fit in with this supposition, while not positively confirming it. Furthermore, it appears that, in consequence of this erasure, the scribe forgot—if Dr. Craig's copy may be trusted—to add the determinative before the god *Bêl*.

The expression *nišit* of this or that god, used quite synonymously with *narâm* "beloved" (e. g. Sar. I., 10) is best explained as a briefer form that arose from *nišit êni* or *nišit ênâ*.

<sup>1</sup> HEBRAICA, vol. III., No. 4, pp. 201-232.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Col. I., 7, where the scribe after erroneously reduplicating *šI* erased the first.

85. Supply *biltu u* before *madātu*. The measurement warrants this, and the parallel passages, such as I., 23, render it quite certain.

47. A comparison with lines 15 and 19 favors the addition of *SAB.SUN.-MEŠ.* = *ummanâtê*, after *narkabâtê*. The traces seem to be in accord. So also Col. II., 3, the reading *ummanâtê* is certainly to be preferred to *ma'adu*. Instead of *dikta-šu* supplied by Dr. Craig at the end of the line, I should prefer *tidukišunu*, as more in accord with the style of the inscription (cf. Col. I., 39 and II., 98). The readings in I, 24, II, 11 and 64 would then have to be similarly altered. The point appears to be a trifling one and yet it is well to preserve the uniformity of style in an inscription, where we are not warranted in assuming any variation.

II., 5-6. Read "*ma-ha-ze rabûte ša alu Pa-ti-na-a ak-te-rib. Alani ša tamdi e-li-ni-ti ša mat A-har-ri,*" etc. *The great towns of the Patinians I approached. The cities of the upper sea of Aharru. I destroyed.* For the expression *tamdu elinitu* instead of the more usual *tamdu elitu* see San. Tayl. I., 13 and III R. 12, 3. With this reading there is no longer any reason to doubt that DUP is here the ideogram for *erib*.

53, 54. It is not easy to say exactly how the text originally read, though the general sense of the passage is clear, but something like the following seems to be demanded by the context, and is, moreover, justified on other grounds:

After *aršip* supply ["*šihrute rabûltê ina lib-bi [batule šu]nu šal ba-tu-[la-te-šu-nu ana] a-si-ta-a-ti,*" etc. *The small and great within (sc. the city) their youths and maidens at the asitâta on stakes I impaled.* To see the justice of this restoration, it is necessary to compare Col. I., 17. Cf. also Ašurn. II. 19. The only change that my conjecture demands is the substitution of the fem. dem. for the signs *TE.AŠ*, which resemble *ŠAL*. sufficiently to warrant the belief that another inspection of the stone would show the latter to be the actual character. The rendering "columns" for *asitatu* does not appear satisfactory. The word has long been recognized as a difficult one.<sup>1</sup> It is clearly the equivalent of the Talmudic *אשיתא*<sup>2</sup> which is of frequent occurrence, and is throughout used in the sense of "wall." In Arabic, on the other hand, under the form *آسبة*, the meaning is apparently "column, pillar," but Fraenkel<sup>3</sup> very properly classes it among the loan-words from the Aramæan, so that the Arabic meaning in no case counts for much and we are thrown back to the Talmudic as coming nearer to the original sense. In the Mandaic dialect<sup>4</sup>, also, the word is found with the meaning "wall." That in Assyrian, similarly, it was something connected with a wall, is clearly shown by the passage in the Tiglath-pileser inscription, Col. 5, 27, where it occurs by the side of *dûru*: "*dura-šu raba-a u a-sa-ia-ti-šu ša agurri ana*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lotz T. P., p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages in Jastrow's *Talm. Dict.*, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> *Aramäische Fremdw.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke *Mand. Gram.*, p. 113.

nabali akbāsi." From Ašurn. II., 69. it also follows that an asitu was something erected at the entrance to a city and therefore near the city wall. An asitu must have been rather broad—and for this reason a "column" seems out of the question—for Ašurnasirbal in the same passage speaks of having spread the skins of his captives over it. The addition of *ša kakkadeū* in the two passages of our inscription. Col. I., 16. and II., 58. to the word, leaves scarcely a doubt of its being an architectural term and the last appeal, therefore, as in the case of all *termini technici* of Babylonian and Assyrian architecture must be made to archaeology. Dr. Craig recognizes this in his note to the word and therefore his rendering "a column of heads" is all the more surprising. While we are, therefore, justified in referring both the Arabic, Talmudical and Mandaean equivalent back to the Assyrian as the original source—as will be found to be the case with other architectural terms, etc.—the special meanings which the term may have acquired in traveling from one people to another can at best serve as a guide, but not as a positive indication of what the term was applied to in Assyrian. It may be said with safety that an asitu was a structure built at the city wall—perhaps a frame-work—and that asitu *ša kakkadeū* is a place where executions took place. The two forms for the plural asitu (or a-sa-ia-tu) and asitatu are rather curious, and it is interesting to note that the former of these corresponds letter for letter with the plural in the Mandaean *ܐܣܝܬܐܝܬܐ*. In a future article I shall discuss this word and the expression asitu *ša kakkadeū* at greater length.

60. In an article published in Bezold's Zeitschrift (vol. II., p. 353 seq.), I have shown that *epšitu* here and in some other passages is to be translated "story," "narrative," and forms a parallel to Hebrew *סֵפֶר* which in post-biblical literature is used in precisely the same way.

72. Instead of *rupuš* read *gibiš*, as in I., 32 and in II., 15, where we have *gi-biš ummanateū*. That the sign here used has among others this value, is proved by II R. 26. No. 1, col. 10 c. d., where after *gab* we must evidently supply *gi*.<sup>1</sup>

75. Is KI-LAL, perhaps, to be read *šukultu*, according to V R. 41. No. 2, 58?<sup>2</sup> For another meaning of this compound ideogram see V R. 16, Rev. 44. I close with a list of some interesting parallel passages in this inscription:

Col. I., 19 = II., 42.

Col. I., 21 = II., 21 and 32.

Col. II., 7 = II., 39.

Col. I., 27 = I., 49 = II., 44.

Col. I., 46 = II., 50.

Col. II., 44 = II., 54.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmern, BP., p. 78; Brünnow's List, No. 5450.

<sup>2</sup> See also II R. 8, 11e,f (Strassmaier, AV. 8136); Brünnow's List, No. 9617.

## OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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### ZECHARIAH.

- IX. 9. "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy king cometh unto thee; he is just and having salvation; lowly, riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."—See above, Dan. vii. 13. "We will be glad and rejoice in thee" (Song of Solomon i. 4). It is like a queen whose husband and sons and sons-in-law have undertaken a sea voyage. Your sons have returned; the news is brought to her. What do I care? let my daughters-in-law rejoice with them, is her reply. Again the news is brought that her sons-in-law have returned. What do I care? is her reply; this is a cause for my daughters to rejoice. But when the news reached her of the return of the king, her husband, she said: Now is my joy complete. Thus also the prophets will once come and say to Jerusalem: "Thy sons shall come from far" (Isa. lx. 4); but she will say: What do I care? "And thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side" (ibid). What do I care? will be the reply. But when she hears, "Behold thy king cometh unto thee," she says: Now is my joy complete, as it is said: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion." In that hour she says: "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God" (Isa. lxi. 10).—*Midrash on Song of Solomon*, i. 4. Rabbi Hillel said: There will be no Messiah, because they have enjoyed him already in the days of Hezekiah. Rav Joseph said: May the Lord forgive Rav Hillel. For when was Hezekiah? In the first house (i. e. during the first temple), and did not Zechariah prophesy during the second temple, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; behold thy king," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.
- X. 4. "Out of him came forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle-bow, out of him every oppressor together."  
*Targum*: Out of him shall come forth his king, out of him his Messiah, out of him the strength of his war, out of him all his goodness shall be exalted together.
- XII. 10. "And I will pour upon the house of Israel, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look upon

me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born."

What is the cause of his mourning?<sup>1</sup> In this Rabbi Dosa and the other Rabbis differ. The one said it was for Messiah, the son of Joseph, who is to be slain; and the other said it was for the evil desire which is to be slain. If the cause will be the violent death of Messiah, the son of Joseph, one can understand that which is written, "And they shall look to him whom they have pierced."<sup>2</sup>—*Talmud Succah*, fol. 52, col. 1.

XIV. 5. "And the Lord, my God, shall come, and all the saints with thee." How many prophets were in Israel, whose names are not known, but in the future God will bring them with him, as it is said, "And the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee."—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* i. 11.

—7. "But it shall be one day, which shall be known to the Lord."

Another interpretation of "There was none of them" (Ps. cxxxix. 16) is that it means the seventh day, for this world is to last 6,000 years; 2,000 years

<sup>1</sup> The words to which reference is made and which precede our passage are these: "And the land shall mourn," etc. (Zech. xii. 12). Have we not here a lesson *a fortiori*? If in the future, on an occasion of mourning, and when the evil has no more dominion, the Law says: "Men apart and women apart, how much more should men and women be apart now, when the evil imagination has dominion; and on occasions of mirth."

<sup>2</sup> The fiction about two Messiahs—Messiah the son of Joseph, and Messiah the son of David—was originally derived from Zech. xii. 10, and belongs to a later period. The Messiah the son of Joseph, or Messiah the son of Ephraim, was looked upon as one destined to be born in poverty, and acquainted with ills, and was to be killed in war. The Messiah the son of David, on the other hand, was regarded as the great Messiah, who was to be the final conqueror, and to erect a kingdom over which he was to reign forever. The doctrine of the two Messiahs seems to have sprung up after the Christian era. When hardly pressed by Christian argument about the Old Testament prophecies of the sufferings of the Messiah, the fiction about two Messiahs would offer a welcome means of escape. In both Talmud and the late Targums, this fiction is already found (comp. Glaesener, *De gemino Indacorum Messia*, Helmstädt, 1739, p. 145 seq.; Schöttgen, *Horae Hebraicae*, I., p. 359). That Zech. xii. 10 was the origin of the fiction of Messiah, the son of Joseph, may be assumed with certainty, since Jewish writers always speak of him in connection with this passage, and a comparison of two passages from Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud confirms our assumption. The former remarks with reference to Zech. xii. 10: Here are two opinions concurring on this passage; the one says that which they (the people) mourn is the Messiah; and the other, that which they mourn is evil desire (original sin). The latter we have quoted above to the passage. The Jerusalem Talmud, as may be seen, brings our passage in connection with the Messiah, although it also gives room for the evil desire. The Babylonian Talmud cuts the knot asunder by fabricating all at once a second Messiah. This passage (*Succah*, fol. 52, col. 1) is indeed the earliest which contains the strange fiction of the Messiah the son of Joseph. On the same page we also read: "The Rabbis have taught: the Holy One, blessed be He! will say to Messiah the son of David, may he be speedily revealed in our own days!" "Ask of me, and I will give thee;" as it is said, "I will declare the decree . . . This day have I begotten thee; ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance" (Ps. ii. 7, 8). But knowing that Messiah the son of Joseph was slain, he will say: I desire nothing of thee but life. That will sound the reply, Thy father David prophesied concerning thee long ago; as it is said: "He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it to him" (Ps. xxi. 4).—Castelli, in his *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei* (Firenze, 1874) devoted a whole section to the *Messia figlio di Giuseppe* (pp. 224-236) and Hamburger in his *Real. Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, II. p. 768, has a separate article on the Messiah the son of Joseph, who is thus called in the mystic Messianic expectations and Messianic tales.

: See also *Yalkut in loco*.

it was waste and desolate; 2,000 years under the Law; 2,000 years under the Messiah. And because our sins are increased, they are prolonged. As they are prolonged, and as we make one day a Sabbatic year, so will God in the latter days make one day a Sabbatic year, which is 1,000 years, and it is said, "But it shall be one day, which shall be known to the Lord," this is the seventh day.—*Yalkut on Psalm CXXXIX.* 16.

— "At evening time it shall be light."

This refers to the world to come.—*Yalkut*, l. c.

XIV. 9. "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one."

"The time of the singing is come" (Song of Sol. II. 12), i. e., the time has come to redeem Israel; the time has come to cut off the foreskin; the time has come to destroy the power of the Cuthaeans; the time has come that the kingdom of heaven should be revealed, for it is said, "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth."—*Midrash on Song of Solomon* II. 13.

Rabbi Joshua of Sichnin said, in the name of Rabbi Levi: God used the manner of speech of the patriarchs and made it the introduction to the promise of redeeming the children. God said to Jacob: Thou hast said: "Then shall the Lord be my God." As thou livest, all good things, blessings and consolations, which I will impart upon thy children, shall begin with these words, for it is said, "And it shall come to pass in that day," etc. (Isa. XI. 11), "And it shall come to pass in that day," etc. (Joel IV. 18), "And it shall come to pass in that day," etc. (Isa. XXVII. 13), "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth," etc. (the introductory phrase being יְהוָה יְהוָה).—*Midrash on Genesis* XXVIII. 21; sect. 70. *Yalkut* is loco.

#### MALACHI.

IV. 1. "For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven."

The globe of the sun is incased, as it is said, "He maketh a tabernacle for the sun" (Ps. 19). A pool of water is before it. In the hour, when the sun comes out, God cools its heat in the water lest it should burn up the whole world. But in the future the Holy One, blessed be He! will free it from its sheath and will burn up with it the wicked, as it is said, "For, behold, the day cometh," etc.—*Midrash on Genesis* I. 17; sect. 6.

— 2. "But unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness," etc.

Moses said before the Holy One, Blessed be He! Shall the raiment be always taken to pledge (op. Exod. XXII. 26)? God replied: No, only till the sun goeth down, that is, till the Messiah comes, for it is said, "But unto you that fear my name," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus* XXII. 26; sect. 31.



## ❖CONTRIBUTED❖NOTES.❖

"On the Separation which may take place between the so-called Defined and Defining Noun in Arabic."—On this subject *HEBRAICA* of last January contained an interesting anonymous article the name of whose author had been lost. It is a pleasure to us to be able now to make the name known. We regret the numerous *errata*. The printer affirms that they are not "*printer's errors*," as there were but two marks in the proofs from which he made his corrections. At all events, we gladly insert the following communication from the author of the article in question :

To the Editor of *HEBRAICA* :

Dear Sir :

The article I sent you some time ago "on the Separation which may take place between the so-called Defined and Defining Noun in Arabic," has just been brought to my notice. Will you allow me to correct the following printer's errors? The article was published anonymously in the January number of 1888 :

PAGE 87 :

First Arabic line, three lines from bottom, *dele final* *ى* of مطلقاى

PAGE 88 :

Three lines from top, for "And this is the real annexation," read "And this in the real annexation;" and then leave out full stop, and join with beginning of line 4, الاضافة المعنوية

Line 7, for المصالح read المصالح

Line 13, for استعبرت read استعبرت

PAGE 89 :

Line 5, for فدعاهم read فدعاهما

Line 9, for معتاد read معتاد

Line 11, for وزن read وزن . For شركائهم read شركائهم

Line 14, for "Th. Malic," read "Ibn Malic."

Line 14, for نَتْر<sup>6</sup> prose, read نَثْر<sup>6</sup> prose.

Line 19, for وَغَدَ read وَعَدَ

## PAGE 90:

Line 5, for اَرِذْ read اِنْ

Line 8, beginning مَنَع should be removed from text, and placed beneath the note at the bottom of the page.

Line 7 from bottom, for وِثاق read وِثاق

Line 3 from bottom, for " " "

## PAGE 91:

Line 8 from bottom, for المِسْوَالِ read المِسْوَالِ

Line 4 from bottom, for القياس read القياس

Faithfully Yours,

LAWRENCE M. SIMMONS.

*The Owens College, Manchester, England.*

**Kallilag W'damnag in Syriac Literature.**—On page 127 of his edition of this Syriac text, Professor Bickell mentions a gloss of the lexiographer Bar Bahlûl (10th cent.) in which he thought he had found a reference to Kalilag W'damnag. Nöldeke, however, showed (*ZDMG.* xxx., 754) that this supposition was wrong. Cf. also Löw *ZDMG.*, xxxi., 535.



Bar Bahlûl, however, does mention this work in another place, see Payne Smith, col. 1350 s. v. سَا where we read سَا مَعْنَا خَط قَصَب مِنْ قَلِيلِج. This quotation is indeed found in the Syriac text, p. 40, l. 14. Karm-seddinâyâ has also taken up the gloss bodily. Payne Smith's translation is wrong; خَط قَصَب means "a dividing line made of cane." The published text, however, reads سَا (حائط, ٢٣٧), سَا.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,  
*Columbia College, N. Y.*

**The Orientalische Bibliographie.**—The *Orientalische Bibliographie*, edited by Professor August Müller (Königsberg, Germany), seeks to include within its scope the Oriental literature of every country where Oriental studies have found a home. It recognizes the growing importance of the American school. It is very desirable that the *Bibliography* shall be complete in every respect. For this purpose I have been appointed co-laborator for America. I shall be very thankful for the receipt, wherever possible, of reviews, magazine and shorter newspaper articles, etc., bearing upon any of the subjects of which the *Bibliography* treats. Where this is impossible, the exact title of the article, name of the writer and of newspaper, and date of issue will suffice. The extent of our country is so great, its papers so numerous, that it is well-nigh impossible for one man to control the whole. In the interest of science it is to be hoped that this help will be readily and speedily given.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,  
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The World's Exposition of 1893 was held in Chicago. It was the first time that a world's exposition was held in the United States. The exposition was held on the shores of Lake Michigan. It was the first time that a world's exposition was held in the United States. The exposition was held on the shores of Lake Michigan. It was the first time that a world's exposition was held in the United States.

THE WORLD'S EXPOSITION OF 1893 WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT A WORLD'S EXPOSITION WAS HELD IN THE UNITED STATES.

## London's Progress and Development.

London's progress and development have been remarkable. The city has grown from a small town to a great metropolis. It is now one of the most important cities in the world. The city has grown from a small town to a great metropolis. It is now one of the most important cities in the world.

## Statements of the Government and Congress.

Statements of the Government and Congress have been made. The statements have been made in the House of Representatives. The statements have been made in the House of Representatives.

## Young Workers in the Church.

Young workers in the church are the future of the church. They are the ones who will carry on the work of the church. They are the ones who will carry on the work of the church. They are the ones who will carry on the work of the church. They are the ones who will carry on the work of the church.

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